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THE LETTERS OF PLINY.

VOL. II.


BRITISH MUSEUM
30
72
APR

THE

LETTERS

OF

PLINY

THE

CONSUL:

With Occaſional REMARKS.

By WILLIAM MELMOTH, Eſq;

THE NINTH EDITION,
REVISED AND CORRECTED.

VOL. II.



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THE

LETTERS

OF

PLINY.

BOOK VII.

LETTER I. *To* RESTITUTUS.

THIS obſtinate diſtemper which hangs upon you, greatly alarms me; and tho' I know how extremely temperate you are, yet I am afraid your diſeaſe ſhould get the better of your moderation. Let me intreat you then to reſiſt it with a determined abſtemiouſneſs: a remedy, be aſſured, of all others the moſt laudable, as well as the moſt ſalutary. There is nothing impracticable in what I recommend: it is a rule, at leaſt, which I always

enjoin my family to obſerve with reſpect to myſelf. I tell them, ſhould I be attacked with any diſorder, I hope I ſhall deſire nothing of which I ought either to be aſhamed, or have reaſon to repent; however, if my diſtemper ſhould prevail over my judgement, I forbid them to give me any thing but by the conſent of my phyſicians; and I aſſure the people about me, that I ſhall reſent their compliance with me in things improper, as much as another man would their refuſal. I had once a moſt violent fever; when the fit was a little abated, and I had been anointed[a], my phyſician offered me ſomething to drink: I deſired he would firſt feel my pulſe; and upon his ſeeming to think the paroxyſm was not quite abated I inſtantly returned the cup, tho' it was juſt at my lips. Afterwards, when I was preparing to go into the bath, twenty days from the firſt attack of my illneſs, perceiving the phyſicians whiſpering together, I enquired what they were ſaying. They replied, they were of opinion I might poſſibly bathe with ſafety, nevertheleſs that they were not without ſome ſuſpicion of hazard. What occaſion then is there,

[a] Unction was much eſteemed as a remedy in certain caſes by the ancient phyſicians. Celſus, who flouriſhed, it is ſuppoſed, about Pliny's time, expreſsly recommends it in the remiſſion of acute diſtempers: *ungi leniterque pertractari corpus, etiam in acutis et recentibus morbis oportet; in remiſſione tamen, &c.* Celſi med. ed. Almeloveen, p. 88.



there, I aſked, of bathing at all? And thus, with great complacency, I gave up a pleaſure I was upon the point of enjoying, and abſtained from the bath with the ſame ſatisfaction I was preparing to enter it. I mention this, not only in order to enforce my advice by example; but alſo that this letter may be a ſort of tie upon me to obſerve the ſame reſolute abſtinence for the future. Farewel.

LETTER II. *To* JUSTUS.

ARE you not inconſiſtent, when you aſſure me you have no intermiſſion from buſineſs, and yet expreſs at the ſame time an earneſt deſire to ſee my works; upon which even the idle will ſcarce beſtow ſome of their uſeleſs hours? I will not then break in upon your occupations during this ſummer ſeaſon; but when the return of winter ſhall make it probable that your evenings, at leaſt, may be diſengaged, I will look over my trifles for ſomething to amuſe your vacant hours. In the mean while, I ſhall be well ſatisfied, if my letters ſhould not prove troubleſome; as I ſuſpect they are, and therefore ſhorten them. Farewel.

LETTER III. *To* PRÆSENS.

ARE you determined then to paſs your whole time between [a] Lucania and [b] Campania? Your anſwer, I ſuppoſe, will be, that the former is your native country, and the latter that of your wife. This, I admit, may juſtify a long abſence, but I cannot allow it as a reaſon for a perpetual one. But are you reſolved in good earneſt never to return to Rome; that theatre of honours, preferment, and amicable connections of every ſort? Are you obſtinately determined to live your own maſter; to ſleep as long as you pleaſe, and to riſe when you think proper? Will you never change your country garb for the dreſs of the town, but ſpend your whole days unembarraſſed by our crowded ſtreets? It is time, however, you ſhould re-viſit this our ſcene of hurry, were it only that your rural pleaſures may not grow languid by uninterrupted poſſeſſion: appear at the levees of the great, that you may enjoy the ſame honour yourſelf with the more ſatisfaction; and mix in our crowds, that you may have a keener reliſh for the charms of ſolitude. But am I not imprudently retarding the friend I would recall? It is theſe very circumſtances, perhaps,

[a] Comprehending the Baſilicata, a province in the kingdom of Naples.

[b] Now called Campagna di Roma. See B. vi. let. 4. not. [b].

haps, that induce you every day more and more to ſeclude yourſelf up in retirement. All however I wiſh to prevail with you is, only to intermit, not to renounce the charms of ſolitude. If I were to invite you to a feaſt, as I would blend diſhes of a poignant taſte, with thoſe of the luſcious kind, in order to ſharpen the edge of your palate by the one, which had been flattened by the other; ſo I now adviſe you to enliven ſometimes the ſmooth pleaſures of life, with thoſe of a more active nature. Farewel.

LETTER IV. *To* PONTIUS.

YOU have read, it ſeems, my poems, and are deſirous to know, how it happened that a man of my gravity (as you are pleaſed to call me, tho' in truth, I am only not a trifler) could adopt this mode of compoſition. To take the account then a good way back, I muſt acquaint you that I had always an inclination to poetry, inſomuch that when I was fourteen years of age, I compoſed a Tragedy in Greek. If you ſhould aſk me what ſort of one? I proteſt I don't know; all that I remember of it is, that it was called a Tragedy. Some time afterwards, in my return from the army, being detained in the iſland of * Icaria by contrary

* An iſland in the Archipelago, now called Nicaria.

winds, I vented my ſpleen againſt that place in ſome Latin Elegies. I have ſince made ſome attempts in the heroic kind; but theſe [b] *Hendecaſyllables* are the firſt I ever compoſed in that meaſure: and the following accident gave birth to them. The treatiſe of Aſinius Gallus was read to me one day at Laurentinum, wherein he draws a compariſon between his father and Cicero; and cites an epigram of Tully's on his favourite Tiro. Upon retiring to take my afternoon's nap (for it was ſummer) and not being able to ſleep, I began to reflect that the greateſt orators have been fond of poetry, and valued themſelves upon it. I tried therefore what I could do in this way; and tho' I had long diſuſed myſelf to compoſitions of this nature, I ſtruck out, in a much ſhorter time than I could have imagined, the following lines upon the ſubject which gave me the firſt hint:

When Gallus I read, who pretends that his ſire
Had far more than Tully poetical fire,
The wiſeſt of men, I perceiv'd held it fit
To temper his wiſdom with love and with wit;
For Tully, grave Tully, in amorous ſtrains,
Of the frauds of his paramour Tiro complains;
That faithleſs to love, and to pleaſure untrue,
From his promis'd embrace the arch wanton with-
drew.

Then

[b] See p. 217. note [a].

Then I ſaid to my heart, Why ſhouldſt thou conceal
The ſweeteſt of paſſions, the love which you feel—
Yes, fly wanton muſe, and proclaim it around,
Thy Pliny has lov'd, and his Tiro has found;
The coy one ſo artful, who ſweetly denies,
And from the ſoft flame, but to heighten it, flies.

From this I turned to Elegy, which flowed from me with the ſame eaſe; and being thus drawn in by the facility with which the Muſes yielded to my addreſſes, I proceeded to encreaſe the number of my productions of this kind. At my return to Rome, I ſhewed my performances to ſome of my friends, who were pleaſed to approve of them. Afterwards, whenever I had leiſure, and particularly when I travelled, I made ſeveral other attempts in the poetical way. At length I determined, after the example of many others, to publiſh a ſeparate volume of theſe poems; and I have no reaſon to repent of my reſolution. They are much enquired after, and are in every body's hands; they have even tempted the Greeks to learn our language, who ſing them to their harps and lyres. But will you not imagine I begin to rave? remember, however, poets have that privilege. The truth is, I am not giving you my own judgment, but that of others, which, be it right or wrong, I am much pleaſed with; and have only to wiſh that poſterity may be of the ſame opinion. Farewel.

LETTER V. *To* CALPHURNIA [a].

IT is incredible how impatiently I wiſh for your return; ſuch is the tenderneſs of my affection for you, and ſo unaccuſtomed am I to a ſeparation! I lie awake the greateſt part of the night in thinking of you, and (to uſe a very common, but very true expreſſion) my feet carry me of their own accord to your apartment, at thoſe hours I uſed to viſit you; but not finding you there, I return with as much ſorrow and diſappointment as an excluded lover. The only intermiſſion my anxiety knows, is when I am engaged at the bar, and in the cauſes of my friends. Judge then, how wretched muſt *his* life be, who finds no repoſe but in *buſineſs*; no conſolation but in a *crowd*. Farewel.

LETTER VI. *To* MACRINUS.

A Very ſingular and remarkable circumſtance has happened in the affair of [b] Varenus; the conſequence of which is yet in ſuſpenſe. The Bithynians, it is *ſaid*, (for I only mention it as a report) have dropped their proſecution of him; being, it ſeems convinced at laſt, that the accuſation was extremely ill founded. A deputy from that province

[a] His wife. [b] See B. v. let. xx.

province is arrived, who has brought with him a decree of their aſſembly; copies of which he has delivered to Cæſar, and to ſeveral of the principal perſons in Rome, as alſo to us the advocates for Varenus. [c] Magius, nevertheleſs, whom I mentioned in my laſt letter, perſiſts in his charge; to ſupport which, he is inceſſantly teazing the worthy Nigrinus. This excellent perſon was counſel for him in his former petition to the conſuls, that Varenus might be compelled to produce his accounts. Upon that occaſion, as I attended Varenus merely as a friend, I determined to be ſilent. I thought it highly imprudent for me, who was appointed his counſel by the ſenate, to attempt to defend him as a perſon accuſed, when it was his buſineſs to inſiſt that there was actually no charge ſubſiſting againſt him. Accordingly, when Nigrinus had finiſhed his ſpeech, the conſuls turning their eyes upon me, I roſe up and ſaid, *when they ſhould hear what the real deputies from the province had to object againſt the motion of Nigrinus, they would be ſenſible that my ſilence was not without ſufficient reaſon.* Upon this Nigrinus aſked me to whom theſe deputies were ſent? I replied, *That the decree of the province was directed to me among others.* He returned, *That is a point, tho' it may be clear to you, I am not ſo well*

[c] One of the Bithynians employed to manage the trial.

well ſatisfied of. To this I rejoined, *tho' it may not be ſo evident to you, who are concerned to ſupport the accuſation, it may be perfectly clear to me, who am on the more favourable ſide.* Then Polyænus the deputy from the province, acquainted the ſenate with the reaſons for ſuperſeding the proſecution, but deſired it might be without prejudice to Cæſar's determination. Magius anſwered him; Polyænus replied; as for himſelf, I only now and then threw in a word, obſerving in general, a profound ſilence. For I have learned, by experience, that upon ſome occaſions there is as much rhetoric in ſilence, as in all the pomp of the moſt ſtudied eloquence: and I remember, in ſome criminal caſes, to have done even more ſervice to my clients by a judicious taciturnity, than I could have expected from the moſt artful ſpeech. To enter into the ſubject of eloquence, is indeed very foreign to the intent of my preſent letter, yet allow me to give you one inſtance in proof of the obſervation I juſt mentioned. A certain lady having loſt her ſon, ſuſpected that his freedmen, whom he had appointed coheirs with her, were guilty of forging the will and poiſoning him. Accordingly, ſhe charged them with the fact before the emperor, who directed Julianus Servianus to try the cauſe. I was counſel for the defendants, and the caſe be-

ing exceedingly remarkable, and the advocates concerned on both ſides of high reputation, it drew together a very numerous audience. The event was, the ſervants being put to the torture, my clients were acquitted. But the mother applied a ſecond time to the emperor, pretending ſhe had diſcovered ſome new evidence. Servianus was therefore directed to rehear the cauſe, that ſhe might produce her freſh proofs. Julius Africanus was counſel for the mother: a young man of good parts, but little experience. He is grandſon to the famous orator of that name, of whom it is reported, that Paſſienus Criſpus hearing him one day plead, archly ſaid, *All this, I own, is very fine; but what is it to the purpoſe?* Julius Africanus, I ſay, having made a long harangue, and exhauſted the portion of time allotted to him, intreated Servianus to allow him to add one word more. When he had concluded, and the eyes of the whole aſſembly had been fixed a conſiderable time upon me; *I would have anſwered Africanus*, I ſaid, *if he had given us that* one word *he beg'd leave to add, in which I doubt not he would have told us ſomething we had not heard before.* I do not remember to have gained ſo much applauſe by any ſpeech I ever made, as I did in this inſtance by making none. Thus the little that I

ſaid

ſaid for Varenus was received with the ſame general approbation. The conſuls, agreeably to the requeſt of Polyænus, reſerved the whole affair for the determination of the emperor, whoſe reſolution I impatiently wait for; as that will decide, whether I may be entirely at my eaſe with reſpect to Varenus; or muſt again renew all my trouble and ſolicitude upon his account. Farewel.

LETTER VII. *To* SATURNINUS.

THO' I had very lately made my acknowledgments to our friend Priſcus, yet, ſince it was your deſire, I willingly repeated them. It is with great pleaſure I ſee ſo much harmony ſubſiſt between two ſuch worthy men, whom I tenderly eſteem, and that you conſider each other's amity as a mutual obligation. For he profeſſes alſo on his part to receive much happineſs from yours, and, with a very generous contention, endeavours to rival you in that reciprocal affection, which time, I am perſuaded, will augment.

I regret that any buſineſs ſhould call you off from your ſtudies. However, as ſoon as you ſhall have compromiſed (which you ſay you are upon the point of effecting) one of the cauſes you mention, and brought the other to a hearing, you will be at leiſure

ſure to enjoy the retirement of the country: and when you are ſatiated with repoſe, we may hope to ſee you in Rome. Farewel.

LETTER VIII. *To* PRISCUS.

THE frequent letters which I receive from Saturninus expreſſing his ſenſe of your favours to him, afford me inexpreſſible ſatisfaction. May you go on as you began, and continue to cheriſh an affection for ſo worthy a man, from whoſe friendſhip you will receive a moſt ſenſible and laſting gratification. For, as he is greatly diſtinguiſhed by every other virtue, ſo, particularly, by his invariable attachment to his friends. Farewel.

LETTER IX. *To* TUSCUS.

YOU deſire my ſentiments concerning the method of ſtudy you ſhould purſue, in that retirement to which you have long ſince withdrawn. In the firſt place then, I look upon it as a very advantageous practice (and it is what many recommend) to tranſlate either from Greek into Latin, or from Latin into Greek. By this means you will furniſh yourſelf not only with proper but brilliant expreſſions; with a variety of beautiful figures; and, in

in ſhort, acquire a nervous and powerful ſtile. Beſides, by imitating the moſt approved authors, you will find your imagination inſenſibly catch their flame, and kindle into a ſimilar warmth of invention; at the ſame time that thoſe paſſages which you may poſſibly have overlooked in a common way of reading, cannot eſcape you in tranſlating: and this method will alſo enlarge your knowledge, and improve your judgment. After you have read an eminent author, it may be proper, in order to make yourſelf more perfectly maſter of his ſubject and argument, to turn, from being his reader, to be his rival, as it were, and attempt ſomething of your own upon the ſame topic; and then make an impartial compariſon between your performance and his, in order to obſerve in what points either you or he have moſt happily ſucceeded. It will be a matter of very pleaſing congratulation to yourſelf, if you ſhould find in ſome articles, that you have the advantage of him, as it will be a great mortification if he ſhould riſe above you in all. You may ſometimes venture in theſe little experimental eſſays, to try your ſtrength upon the moſt ſhining paſſages of a diſtinguiſhed author. The attempt, indeed, will be ſomewhat bold; but as it is a contention which paſſes in ſecret, it cannot be taxed with preſumption. Not but that we have ſeen inſtances of perſons, who have publicly entered this ſort of liſts with great ſucceſs; and while they

did

did not deſpair of overtaking, have glorioufly advanced before thoſe whom they would have thought it ſufficient honour to follow. After you have thus finiſhed a compoſition, you may lay it aſide, 'till it is no longer freſh in your memory, and then take it up, in order to reviſe and correct it. You will find ſeveral things to retain, but ſtill more to reject; you will add a new thought here, and alter another there. It is a laborious and tedious taſk, I own, thus to re-enflame the mind after its firſt ardour has ſubſided; to recover an impulſe when its force has been checked and ſpent; in a word, to interweave new parts into the texture of a compoſition, without diſturbing or confounding the original plan; but the advantage attending this method will overbalance the difficulty. I know your preſent attention is principally directed towards the eloquence of the bar; but I would not for that reaſon adviſe you never to quit the polemic, if I may ſo call it, and contentious ſtile. As land is improved by ſowing it with various ſeeds, ſo is the mind by exerciſing it with different ſtudies. I would recommend it to you, therefore, ſometimes to ſingle out a fine paſſage of hiſtory; and ſometimes to exerciſe yourſelf in the epiſtolary ſtile. For it frequently happens, that in pleading, one has occaſion to introduce hiſtorical, and even poetical deſcriptions; as by ſtudying the

epiſtolary

epiſtolary manner of writing, you will acquire a conciſe and eaſy expreſſion. It will be extremely advantageous alſo to unbend your mind by poetical compoſitions: when I ſay ſo, I do not mean that ſpecies of poetry which turns upon ſubjects of great length (*ſuch* being ſuitable only for perſons of much leiſure) but thoſe little pieces of the ſprightly kind of poeſy, which ſerve as proper reliefs to, and are conſiſtent with, employments of every ſort. They commonly go under the title of *poetical amuſements*; but theſe amuſements have ſometimes gained as much reputation to their authors, as works of a more ſerious nature; and thus (for while I am exhorting you to poetry, why ſhould I not turn poet myſelf?)

As yielding wax the Artiſt's ſkill commands,
Submiſſive ſhap'd beneath his forming hands;
Now dreadful ſtands in arms a Mars confeſt;
Or now with Venus' ſofter air impreſt;
A wanton Cupid now the mold belies;
Now ſhines, ſevere'ly chaſte, a Pallas wiſe:
As not alone to quench the raging flame,
The ſacred fountain pours her friendly ſtream;
But ſweetly gliding thro' the flow'ry green,
Spreads glad refreſhment o'er the ſmiling ſcene:
So, form'd by ſcience, ſhould the ductile mind
Receive, diſtinct, each various art refin'd.

In

In this manner the greateſt men, as well as the moſt eminent orators, accuſtomed either to exerciſe or amuſe themſelves, or rather indeed both. It is ſurpriſing how much the mind is entertained and refreſhed by theſe little poetical compoſitions, as they turn upon ſubjects of gallantry, ſatire, tenderneſs, manners, and every thing, in ſhort, that concerns life and the affairs of the world. Beſides, the ſame advantage attends the exerciſing our minds in this inferiour ſpecies of poeſy, as in every other ſort; we turn from them to the eaſier compoſition of proſe with ſo much the more pleaſure, after having experienced the difficulty of being conſtrained and fettered by numbers.

And now, perhaps, I have enlarged upon the queſtion you propoſed to me more than you deſired; nevertheleſs, there is ſtill one article which I have omitted: I have not told you what kind of authors you ſhould read; tho' indeed that was ſufficiently implied when I mentioned the ſubjects I would recommend for your compoſitions. You will remember, that the moſt approved writers of each ſort are to be carefully ſelected: for, as it has been well obſerved, "though we ſhould read much, we "ſhould not read many [a] books." Who thoſe authors are, is ſo clearly ſettled, and ſo generally known, that

[a] Thus the noble and polite moraliſt, ſpeaking of the influence which our reading has upon our *taſte* and *manners*, thinks it improper "to call a man *well-read*, who reads many "authors;

that I need not particularly name them; beſides, I have already extended this letter to ſuch an immoderate length, that I fear I have too long interrupted thoſe ſtudies, the method of which I have been pointing out to you. I will here reſign you therefore to your tablets, either to reſume the ſtudies in which you were before engaged, or to enter upon ſome of thoſe I have recommended. Farewel.

" authors; ſince he muſt of neceſſity have more ill models " than good: and be more ſtuffed with bombaſt, ill fancy, " and wry thought, than filled with ſolid ſenſe and juſt ima- " gination." [Charact. v. 1. 142.] When the Goths overran Greece, the libraries eſcaped their deſtruction by a notion which ſome of their leaders induſtriouſly propagated among them, that it would be more for their intereſt to leave thoſe ſpoils untouched to their enemies; as being proper to enervate their minds, and amuſe them with vain and idle ſpeculations. Truth perhaps has been leſs a gainer by this multiplicity of books, than error; and it may be a queſtion, whether the excellent models which have been delivered down to us from antiquity, together with thoſe few which modern times have produced, by any means balance the immoderate weight which muſt be thrown into the oppoſite ſcale of writers. The truth is, tho' we may be learned by other men's reflections, wiſe we can only be by our own: and the maxim here recommended by Pliny, would well deſerve the attention of the ſtudious, though no other inconvenience attended the reading of many books, than that which Sir William Temple apprehends from it; the leſſening the force and growth of a man's own genius. For it may be juſtly doubted, with that ingenious author, " whether the weight and number of ſo many other men's " thoughts and notions, may not ſuppreſs his own, or hin- " der the motion or agitation of them, from which all in- " vention ariſes; as heaping on wood, or too many ſticks, " or too cloſe together, ſuppreſſes, and ſometimes quite ex- " tinguiſhes a little ſpark, that would otherwiſe have grown " up to a noble flame." [Eſſay on learning, v. 1. 158. fol. ed.]

LET-

LETTER X. *To* MACRINUS.

AS I always desire to know the end of an interesting story when it broke off before the conclusion; so, I imagine, you will be glad to be informed of the remaining part of the cause which I mentioned to you, [a] between the Bithynians and Varenus. It was pleaded before the emperor by Polyænus on one side, and Magius on the other. When Cæsar had heard both parties, *Neither party*, said he, *shall have reason to complain of delay; for I will take care to inform myself of the real sentiments of the province.* In the mean while, Varenus has gained a very considerable point; for can any circumstance make the justness of his accusation appear more doubtful, than that it is a question whether he is accused at all? We have only to wish, that the province may not again approve of the measure which, it is said, she now condemns, and repent of her former repentance. Farewel.

[a] See Let. VI. p. 8. of this B.

LETTER XI. *To* FABATUS [a].

YOU are ſurprized, I find, that my ſhare of five-twelfths of the eſtate which lately fell to me, and which I had directed to be ſold to the beſt bidder, ſhould have been diſpoſed of by my freed-man Hermes to Corellia (without putting it up to auction) at the rate of ſeven hundred thouſand [b] ſeſterces for the whole. You think it might have produced nine hunded thouſand [c]; and are ſo much the more deſirous to know, whether I am inclined to ratify what he has done. I am; and for ſuch reaſons, I hope, as not only you will approve, but which will alſo excuſe me to my joint-coheirs for having, upon a motive of ſuperior obligation, ſeparated my intereſt from theirs. I have the higheſt eſteem for Corellia, both as the ſiſter of Rufus, whoſe memory will ever be ſacred to me, and as ſhe was an intimate friend of my mother. Beſides, that excellent man Minutius Tuſcus, her huſband, has every claim to my affection that a long friendſhip can give him; as there was likewiſe ſo ſtrict an intimacy between her ſon and me, that I fixed

[a] His wife's grandfather.
[b] About 5,600l. of our money.
[c] About 7,200l. of our money.

fixed upon him to preſide at the games which I exhibited when I was elected Prætor. This lady, when I was laſt in the country, expreſſed a ſtrong inclination to purchaſe ſome ſpot upon our lake of Comum; I therefore made her an offer, at her own price, of any quantity of my land there, except what came to me from my father and mother: for I could not conſent to ſell any part of my patrimonial eſtate, even to Corellia. When the inheritance in queſtion fell to me, I wrote to acquaint her it was to be ſold. This letter I ſent by Hermes, who, upon her requeſting him immediately to aſſign to her my proportion, conſented. You ſee, therefore, how ſtrongly my honour is engaged to confirm an act which my freed-man did, in purſuance of what he knew to be my inclinations. I have only to entreat my fellow-coheirs not to be offended that I have made a ſeparate ſale of what I had certainly a right to diſpoſe of. They are under no neceſſity of being governed by my example, ſince they have not the ſame connections with Corellia; and are at full liberty therefore to be guided by intereſt, which in my own caſe I choſe to ſacrifice to friendſhip. Farewel.

LETTER XII. *To* MINUTIUS.

I Have delayed ſo much the longer ſending you the petition which I have drawn up for the uſe of your, or rather I ſhould ſay *our* friend, (for what is there we do not poſſeſs in common?) that you might not have time to correct it, that is, to render all the pains I have taken, ineffectual. After all, whether you may or may not find time for that purpoſe, I know not; but of this I am ſure, you will moſt certainly ſpoil it, if, agreeably to the very *delicate* taſte of your very *refined* critics, you ſhould throw out its moſt ſhining parts. I ſhall forgive you, however, if you ſhould, and ſhall upon ſome future occaſion, ſucceſsfully make uſe of what your faſtidious niceneſs rejects; as in ſome future compoſition I doubt not to receive much applauſe for thoſe different expreſſions which I have interlined. I ſuſpected you would call every thing unnatural and bombaſt which is raiſed above the ſtyle of ordinary language; I thought proper therefore for your eaſe, to vary the phraſe, and take it ſomewhat lower, or rather indeed, to debaſe it; tho' you, I know (for I muſt continue to rally your *nice* taſte) will eſteem it an improvement. Thus far, in order to make you ſmile in the midſt of your ſerious occupations, I have indulged a jocoſe humour; but without

without doubt, I am wond'rous *ſerious* when I add, that I expect to be reimburſed my charges in ſending a courier expreſs with this petition. Now are you not diſpoſed to condemn it, not only in ſome of it's parts, but in the whole, and inſiſt, that you ought not pay for a *thing* which is abſolutely of no *value?* Farewel.

LETTER XIII. *To* FEROX.

I Find by your letter, that you do, and do not ſtudy. This will appear a little enigmatical till I explain it: you expreſsly ſay, indeed, that you have bidden adieu to ſtudy; but ſuch a vein of elegance runs through your whole letter, that it is impoſſible it ſhould have been compoſed without much thought; unleſs you are privileged beyond the reſt of mankind, and can expreſs ſuch admirable ſentiments in ſo poliſhed a ſtyle, careleſsly and with a flowing pen. Farewel.

LETTER XIV. *To* CORELLIA.

YOU are truly generous to deſire and inſiſt, that I take for my ſhare of the eſtate you purchaſed of me, not after the rate of ſeven hundred thouſand ſeſterces [a] for the whole, as my

[a] See letter the 11th of this book.

freed-man ſold it to you; but in the proportion of nine hundred thouſand, agreeable to what you gave to the farmers of the [b] twentieths for their part. But I muſt deſire and inſiſt in my turn, that you conſider not only what is ſuitable to your character, but what is worthy of mine; and that you ſuffer me to oppoſe your inclination in this ſingle inſtance, with the ſame warmth that I obey it in all others. Farewel.

LETTER XV. *To* SATURNINUS.

YOU aſk me *how I ſpend my time?* You know how much of it is diſpoſed in the buſineſs of my poſt; what remains I devote to the ſervice of my friends, and ſometimes to my books: and altho' I will not venture to affirm it would be better, I am ſure it would be happier, if I could ſay that the latter, not only *ſometimes*, but conſtantly engages me. I ſhould be concerned to hear, that your occupations are of the ſort leaſt agreeable to your inclinations, if I did not know that

[b] Auguſtus impoſed a tax of the 20th part of all legacies and inheritances, which he appropriated to the ſupport of the army. This was deemed a heavy impoſition, and accordingly it was eaſed in ſeveral points by ſucceeding emperors, particularly by Trajan, as appears from our author's noble panegyric upon him [Sect 37, &c.] but it was not wholly aboliſhed till the time of Antoninus Pius.

that to be active in the affairs of one's native corporation, and in ſettling controverſies among one's friends there, are employments of the moſt laudable kind.

I was well perſuaded the company of our friend Priſcus would be extremely agreeable to you, ſenſible as I am of the amiable ſimplicity and politeneſs of his manners; but I had yet to learn (what I had the pleaſure to be informed by your letter) that he is alſo the moſt grateful of men, by ſo kindly remembering the little ſervices I have done him. Farewel.

LETTER XVI. *To* FABATUS.

CALESTRIUS TIRO, to whom I am united by every public and private connection, is in the number of my moſt intimate friends. We ſerved together in the army, and were both of us [a] Quæſtors at the ſame time to Cæſar. He got the ſtart of me indeed, in the Tribunate, by the privilege which the law gives to thoſe who have [b] children; but

[a] An office reſembling that of our ſecretary of ſtate.

[b] A law at firſt propoſed by Auguſtus, but which afterwards with ſeveral alterations paſſed in the conſulſhip of Papius and Poppeas, A. U. 762; in which, amongſt other things, it was enacted, "That all magiſtrates ſhould take precedence according to the number of their children; that in elections thoſe candidates ſhould be preferred who had the moſt numerous offſpring: and that any perſon might ſtand ſooner than ordinary for an office, if he had as many children as he wanted years to be legally capable of ſuch a dignity." Vid. Lipſii Excurſ. ad. Tacit. An. 1. 3.

but I overtook him in the Prætorſhip by the indulgence of the emperor, who diſpenſed with my wanting a year of the legal age for that office. I frequently retire with him to his country villas, and he often takes the benefit of change of air at mine. He is lately appointed proconſul of Bœtica, and propoſes to paſs thro' [c] Ticinum, in his way to that province. I hope, and indeed am well aſſured, I can eaſily prevail with him to turn out of his road to your houſe, if you ſhould have an inclination to make any of thoſe ſlaves free before a magiſtrate, to whom you have already given their liberty [d] in the preſence of your friends. You need be under no apprehenſion that he will look upon this as a trouble, as I am ſure he would willingly travel round the world for my ſake. I beg you therefore to lay aſide all ſcruple, and only conſider what will be moſt agreeable to yourſelf; for, be aſſured, he will take as much pleaſure in executing my requeſts, as I do in obeying yours. Farewel.

[c] Pavia in the dutchy of Milan.

[d] This laſt method only diſcharged them from ſervitude, but did not entitle them to the privileges of complete freedom.

LET-

LETTER XVII. *To* CELER.

EVERY author has his particular reaſons for reciting his works; mine, I have often ſaid, is in order, if any error ſhould have eſcaped my own obſervation, (as no doubt is probable) to have it pointed out to me. I cannot therefore but be ſurprized to find (what your letter aſſures me), that there are ſome who blame me for reciting my ſpeeches; unleſs, perhaps, they are of opinion, that *this* is the ſingle ſpecies of compoſition which ought to be privileged from correction. If ſo, I would willingly aſk them why they allow (if perchance they vouchſafe to allow) that Hiſtory may be recited, ſince it is a work which ought to be devoted to truth, not oſtentation? or why Tragedy, as it is compoſed for action and the ſtage, not for being read to a private audience? or Lyric Poetry, as it is not a reader, but a chorus of voices and inſtruments that it requires? They will reply, perhaps, that in the inſtances mentioned, cuſtom has made the practice in queſtion uſual: I ſhould be glad to know then, if they think the perſon who firſt introduced this practice is to be condemned? Beſides, the rehearſal of orations is no unprecedented thing either with us or the Grecians. Still, perhaps, they will inſiſt, that it can anſwer no purpoſe to recite a ſpeech which has previouſly been

been delivered in public. There would be ſome force in this objection, if one were immediately to repeat the very ſame performance, and to the very ſame audience; but if you make ſeveral additions and alterations; if your audience is compoſed partly of the ſame, and partly of different perſons, and the recital is at ſome diſtance of time; why is there leſs propriety in rehearſing your ſpeech than in publiſhing it? "But it is difficult," ſay the objectors, "to give ſatisfaction to an audience by "the mere reading of a ſpeech:" *that* is a reaſon which concerns the particular ſkill and pains of the perſon who rehearſes, but by no means holds againſt recitation in general. In fact, it is not while I am reading, but when I am read, that I aim at approbation; and upon this principle it is, that I omit no ſort of method which may render my performances more correct. Accordingly, I again and again reviſe my compoſitions in private; afterwards read them to two or three friends; and then give them to a few others to make their remarks. If I have ſtill any doubt concerning the juſtneſs of their obſervations, I carefully reconſider them with another friend or two; and then finally recite them to a more numerous aſſembly. This is the time, believe me, when I find myſelf beſt qualified to exerciſe all the ſeverity of criticiſm; for my attention riſes in proportion to

my

my ſolicitude; as nothing renders the judgement ſo acute to diſcern errors as that modeſt reſpect and reverence one feels for one's audience upon thoſe occaſions. For tell me, whether you would not be infinitely leſs affected if you were to ſpeak before a ſingle perſon only, tho' ever ſo learned, than before a numerous aſſembly, even tho' it were compoſed of none but illiterate people? When you riſe up to plead, are you not at that juncture, above all others, moſt diffident of your powers? and do you not wiſh, I will not ſay ſome particular parts only, but that the whole frame of your intended ſpeech were altered? eſpecially if the circle ſhould be large in which you are to ſpeak; for, there is ſomething in a crowded audience, even of the moſt vulgar kind, that ſtrikes one with awe. And if you ſuſpect at the firſt opening of your ſpeech that you are not well received, do you not find all the energy of your mind weakened, and the whole ſtrength of your abilities ſink under you? The reaſon I imagine to be, that there is I know not what dignity in the collective ſentiments of a multitude; and tho' ſeparately their judgement is, perhaps, of little weight, yet when united it becomes reſpectable. Agreeably to this notion, Pomponius Secundus, the famous tragic poet, whenever his friends and he differed about the retaining or rejecting any paſſage in

his dramatic writings, uſed to ſay *I appeal*[a] *to the people*; and accordingly by their ſilence or applauſe, adopted either his own or his friends' ſentiments: ſuch was the regard he paid to the populace![b] Whether with juſtice or not, does not concern me to determine, as I never recite my works publicly, but only before a ſelect number of friends, whoſe preſence I reſpect, and whoſe judgement I value; in

[a] There is a kind of witticiſm in this expreſſion, which will be loſt to the mere Engliſh reader, unleſs he be informed that the Romans had a privilege, confirmed to them by ſeveral laws which paſſed in the earlier ages of the republic, of appealing from the deciſions of the magiſtrates, to the general aſſembly of the people: and the form of appeal was in the ſame words which Pomponius here applies to a different purpoſe.

[b] However unſafe in general, an appeal to the vulgar notions may be, there are yet ſome caſes in which their ſentiments have ever been received by the judicious, as deciſive. The merit of performances in the perſuaſive, or imitative arts, ſo far as the mere raiſing or repreſenting the paſſions are concerned, will beſt be tried by the effect they produce on plain and untutored minds: for (as Tully obſerves) "that artiſt who has nature for his object, muſt certainly "fall ſhort of the truth of his art, where nature is not "moved *." The cuſtom which prevailed among the Romans of reciting their works of genius in the porticos and places of public reſort, took its riſe probably from the ſame notion of a general and innate taſte being implanted in all mankind of what is juſt and natural in the moving arts. It was upon this principle likewiſe that the great maſters in painting and ſtatuary in ancient Greece, exhibited their performances to public view, and corrected them by the popular feelings. There is a remarkable ſtory of Annibal Carrachi, which ſhews he appealed to the ſame ſtandard. He obſerved that a famous picture of Domenichino's, repreſenting the flagellation of St. Andrew, made a very ſtrong impreſſion upon an old woman, who, at the ſame time

* De orat. lib. 1.

in a word, whoſe opinions I obſerve as if they were ſo many individuals I had ſeparately conſulted; at the ſame time that I ſtand in as much awe before them as I ſhould before the moſt numerous aſſembly. What Cicero ſays of the *pen*, will, in my opinion, hold equally true of that dread we have of the public: "It is the moſt rigid critic imagin-"able[a]." The very fear of reciting; of entering an aſſembly; and the reverential concern when one appears there; each of theſe circumſtances being impreſſed upon the compoſer's mind, tend to improve and perfect his performance. Upon the whole therefore, I cannot repent of a practice which I have experienced to be ſo exceedingly beneficial; and far from being diſcouraged by the trifling objections of theſe cenſors, I requeſt you to point out to me, if there be any other method of correction, that I may alſo adopt it; for nothing can ſufficiently ſatisfy my anxiety to render my compoſitions perfect. I reflect what an arduous

time ſeemed little affected with another picture of a martyrdom done by Guido, which was placed near it. A debate afterwards happening about the reſpective merit of theſe two performances, Carrachi decided the diſpute by only relating this fact *. Thus, as the poet obſerves,

——*The people's voice is odd,*
It is, and it is not, the voice of God. POPE.

[a] *Stilus eſt optimus & præſtantiſſimus dicendi effector atque magiſter.* De Orat. l. 33.

* The well-known appeal of Moliere to his old houſe-keeper, cannot but occur to the reader as a remarkable inſtance of the ſame kind.

duous adventure it is to reſign any work into the hands of the public; and I cannot but be perſuaded, that frequent reviſals and many conſultations, muſt go to the finiſhing of a performance, which one deſires ſhould univerſally, and for ever pleaſe. Farewel.

LETTER XVIII. *To* CANINIUS.

YOU aſk my advice in what manner you ſhall ſettle the ſum of money, which you have preſented to our fellow-citizens of Comum for an annual feſtival, ſo as to ſecure the juſt application of it after your death. Your queſtion proceeds from a truly generous principle; but the anſwer is not very eaſy. If you pay down the money to the community; there is great danger that it will be ſquandered away. If you ſettle lands for that purpoſe; they will probably be ill cultivated, as thoſe of the public uſually are. Upon the whole then, I can think of no method more eligible than what I purſued myſelf in a parallel inſtance. Intending to give [a] five hundred thouſand ſeſterces for the maintenance of children who were born of good families, I made a fictitious ſale to the public agent, of an eſtate in land which was worth conſiderably more, who reconveyed it back to me, charged

[a] About 4,000 l. of our money.

charged with a yearly rent of [b] 30,000 ſeſterces. By theſe means the principal was ſecured to the community, at the ſame time that the intereſt was certain, and the eſtate itſelf (as it was of much greater value than the rent charged upon it) was always ſure of finding a tenant. I am well aware, indeed, that by this method I have actually given more than I appear to have done, as the value of the whole eſtate will be much leſſened by the incumbrance with which it is charged. But the intereſt of the public ought always to ſupercede every private conſideration, as what is eternal is to be preferred to what is mortal; and a man of true generoſity will ſtudy in what manner to render his benefaction moſt advantageous, rather than how he may beſtow it with leaſt expence. Farewel.

LETTER XIX. *To* PRISCUS.

I AM deeply afflicted by the ill ſtate of health of my friend Fannia, which ſhe contracted during her attendance on Junia, one of the Veſtal virgins. She

[b] About 240l. of our money. It ſhould ſeem by this paſſage, that the rate of intereſt of money upon mortgage among the Romans in Pliny's time, or rather at the time when he wrote this letter (for no doubt it varied with public circumſtances) was at 6 *per Cent.* as in the common way of loan, upon perſonal ſecurity. It appears from the ſixty-ſecond letter of the tenth book, to have been ſo high as 12 *per Cent.*

She engaged in this good office at firſt voluntarily, Junia being her relation; but was afterwards appointed to it by an order from the college of Prieſts: for, theſe virgins, when any indiſpoſition makes it neceſſary to remove them from the temple of Veſta, are always delivered into the care and cuſtody of ſome venerable matron. It was her aſſiduity in the execution of this charge that occaſioned her preſent diſorder, which is a continual fever, attended with a cough that increaſes daily. She is extremely emaciated, and every part of her frame ſeems in a total decay except her ſpirits; thoſe indeed ſhe preſerves in their full vigour, and with a fortitude worthy the wife of Helvidius, and the daughter of Thraſea. In every other article, her health is ſo greatly impaired, that I am more than apprehenſive upon her account; I am deeply afflicted. I grieve, my friend, that ſo excellent a woman is going to be removed from the world, which will never, perhaps, again behold her equal. How eminent is her chaſtity, her piety, her gravity, her courage! She twice followed her huſband into exile, and once was baniſhed herſelf upon his account. For, Senecio, when he was arraigned for writing the life of Helvidius, having ſaid in his defence that he compoſed that work at the requeſt of Fannia; Metius Carus, with a ſtern and threatening air, aſked her whether

ther it was true? She acknowledged it was: and when he farther queſtioned her, whether ſhe ſupplied him likewiſe with materials for that purpoſe, and whether her mother was privy to this tranſaction? ſhe boldly confeſſed the former, but abſolutely denied the latter. In ſhort, throughout her whole examination, not a word eſcaped her which betrayed the leaſt timidity. On the contrary, ſhe had the courage to preſerve a copy of thoſe very books which the ſenate, over-awed by the tyranny of the times, had ordered to be ſuppreſſed, and the effects of the author to be confiſcated; taking with her as her companions, thoſe obnoxious volumes which had been the cauſe of her exile. How pleaſing is her converſation, how polite her addreſs, and (which ſeldom unites in the ſame character) how venerable her whole demeanour! She will hereafter, I am well perſuaded, be pointed out as a model to all wives; and perhaps be deemed worthy to be held forth as an example of fortitude even to our ſex: I am ſure, at leaſt, that we who have the pleaſure of ſeeing and converſing with her, contemplate her with the ſame admiration, as thoſe female heroines who are celebrated in ancient ſtory. I confeſs, I cannot but tremble for this illuſtrious houſe as it ſeems ſhaken to its very founda-

tion, and falling into ruin with this excellent woman: for, though ſhe will leave deſcendants behind her, yet what a height of virtue muſt they attain, what glorious actions muſt they perform, ere the world will be perſuaded that ſhe was not the laſt of her family! It is an aggravating circumſtance of affliction to me, that by her death, I ſeem to loſe a ſecond time her mother; that worthy mother (and what can I ſay higher in her praiſe) of ſo amiable a woman! who, as ſhe was reſtored to me in her daughter, ſo ſhe will now again be taken from me, and the loſs of Fannia will thus pierce my heart at once with a freſh ſtab, and tear open a former wound. I ſo truly loved and honoured them both, that I know not which had the greateſt ſhare of my affection and eſteem: and it was a queſtion they wiſhed might ever remain undetermined. In their proſperity and their adverſity I performed every good office to them in my power; and was their comforter in exile, as well as their avenger at their return. But I have not yet diſcharged all the obligations I owe them; and am ſo much the more ſolicitous for the recovery of this lady, that I may have time to acquit the full claim ſhe has upon my kindeſt offices. Such is the anxiety under which I write this letter! But if ſome friendly power ſhould happily give me

occaſion

occaſion to exchange it for ſentiments of joy, I ſhall not complain of the alarms I now ſuffer. Farewel.

LETTER XX. *To* TACITUS.

I Have peruſed your book with all the attention I was maſter of, and have marked the paſſages I think ſhould be altered, and thoſe which I am of opinion ought intirely to be thrown out. It is as habitual to me to ſpeak truth, as it is agreeable to you to hear it; and indeed none are more patient of cenſure, than thoſe who have the beſt claim to applauſe. I now expect, in return, your obſervations upon that treatiſe of mine which I lately ſent you. How agreeable, how noble is ſuch a commerce! and how am I pleaſed with the thought, that poſterity, if it ſhall at all concern itſelf with us, will not ceaſe to mention with what harmony, what freedom, what fidelity we lived together! It will be an inſtance as remarkable, as it is uncommon, that two perſons nearly of the ſame age and rank, and of ſome character in the republic of letters (for ſince I join myſelf with you, I am obliged to ſpeak of your merit with reſerve) ſhould thus mutually aſſiſt and promote each other's ſtudies. When I was a very young man, and you in the prime of your glory and reputation, I endeavoured to follow your

ſteps, and was deſirous to be conſidered as next in fame to you,

[a] *But next with many a length between!*

And tho' there were, at that time, many celebrated geniuſes in Rome, yet you, of all others, appeared to me, not only moſt worthy to be my model, but from a ſimilitude of our diſpoſitions, moſt eaſy for me to copy. It is particularly agreeable to me therefore to find, that in all companies where literature is the topic of converſation, we are always mentioned together, and that my name immediately follows yours. It is true, there are ſome who prefer you to me, as others, on the contrary, give me the advantage; but I am little ſolicitous in what order we are placed, ſo that we ſtand together; for, in my eſtimation, whoever is next to you muſt neceſſarily precede every one elſe. You even ſee in [b] wills (unleſs

[a] Virg. Æn. Pitt's Tranſl.

[b] "It was the peculiar cuſtom of Rome, for the clients and "dependents of families, to bequeath at their death to their "patrons ſome conſiderable part of their eſtates, as the moſt "effectual teſtimony of their reſpect and gratitude; and the "more a man received in this way, the more it redounded to "his credit. Thus Cicero mentions it to the honour of Lu-"cullus, that, while he governed Aſia as Proconſul, many "great eſtates were left to him by will. And Nepos tells us, "in praiſe of Atticus, that he ſucceeded to many inheritances "of the ſame kind, bequeathed to him on no other account "than of his friendly and amiable temper. Cicero, when he "was

leſs in the caſe of particular friendſhip to either of us) we are always equally conſidered, and that the legacies bequeathed to us are generally the ſame, both in number and value. Since therefore, we are thus united by a ſimilitude of ſtudies, manners, reputation, and even by teſtamentary donations, thoſe laſt inſtances of the world's good opinion; ſhould not theſe circumſtances tend to enflame us mutually with the moſt ardent affection? Farewel.

LETTER XXI. *To* CORNUTUS.

I Obey, my deareſt Collegue, your commands to favour the weakneſs of my eyes; and accordingly I came hither in a covered litter, in which I was as much ſheltered as if I had been in my chamber. I forbear too (with reluctance indeed, however I do forbear) both writing and reading; and it is with my ears only that I ſtudy. By drawing the curtains of my chamber, I make it gloomy, but not dark; and when I walk in my covered portico, I ſhut the lower range of windows, and by that means enjoy as much ſhade as light. Thus I endeavour to accuſtom myſelf to the light by

" was falſely reproached by Antony, with being neglected on " theſe occaſions, declared in his reply, that he had gained " from this ſingle article, about two hundred thouſand " pounds." Middleton's Life of Tully, v. 2. 514.

degrees. The bath being of ſervice in this caſe, I allow myſelf the uſe of it; as alſo of wine, becauſe it is not judged prejudicial, but I drink it with great moderation. I do ſo, you know, at all times, but particularly now that I have [a] one who narrowly obſerves me.—I received the pullet, with great pleaſure as coming from you; and weak as my eyes ſtill are, they are ſtrong enough, however, to diſcern it is extremely fat. Farewel.

LETTER XXII. *To* FALCO.

YOU will not wonder I ſo earneſtly preſſed you to confer the Tribunate upon my friend, when you ſhall be informed who and what he is; and as you have complied with my requeſt, I may now acquaint you with his name and character. It is Cornelius Minutianus, who both in rank and merit is the ornament of that province to which I owe my birth. His family and fortune are noble, and yet he cultivates ſcience with as much application, as if the narrowneſs of his circumſtances rendered it neceſſary. He is a moſt upright judge, a moſt ſtrenuous advocate, a moſt faithful friend. You will look upon the obligation as done to yourſelf, when you ſhall have an opportunity of becoming

[a] Meaning his wife, perhaps, or his phyſician.

ing better acquainted with this excellent perſon, who (not to ſpeak in too lofty terms of ſo modeſt a man) is equal to all the honours and titles that can be conferred upon him. Farewel.

LETTER XXIII. *To* FABATUS[a].

I Greatly rejoice that you have ſo much recovered your ſtrength as to be able to take ſo long a journey as to [b] Mediolanum, in order to meet Tiro; but, that you may continue to enjoy that happineſs, let me intreat you to ſpare yourſelf a fatigue ſo improper for a man of your years. I muſt even inſiſt, that you wait for him at Comum, and that you do not ſtir out of your own houſe, nor even out of your chamber, to receive him. As I love him with the affection of a brother, it would be unreaſonable he ſhould expect from the perſon whom I honour as my parent, a point of ceremony which he would ſpare his own. Farewel.

[a] His wife's grandfather.

[b] Milan.

LET-

LETTER XXIV. *To* GEMINIUS.

NUmidia Quadratilla is lately dead, having lived almoſt to her eightieth year. She enjoyed, 'till her laſt ſickneſs, an uninterrupted ſtate of health, with a ſtrength and firmneſs of body unuſual to perſons of her ſex. She has left a very prudent will, having diſpoſed of two thirds of her eſtate to her grand-ſon, and the reſt to her grand-daughter. With the young lady I have little acquaintance, but the grand-ſon is one of the moſt favourite and intimate friends I have. He is a perſon of ſingular worth; and his merit entitles him to the affection of a relation, even where his blood does not. Tho' he is extremely beautiful, he eſcaped every malicious imputation both whilſt a boy and when a youth: he was a huſband at four and twenty, and would have been a father if providence had not diſappointed his hopes. Notwithſtanding he reſided in the family with his grand-mother, who was exceedingly devoted to the pleaſures of the town, yet he obſerved great ſeverity of conduct himſelf, at the ſame time that he behaved to her with the utmoſt reſpect. She retained a ſet of [a] Pantomimes,

[a] Theſe Pantomimes were, as their name imports, univerſal mimics, whoſe humour conſiſted in imitating the peculiar manner

tomimes, and was an encourager of this ſort of people, to a degree inconſiſtent with a perſon of her ſex and rank. But Quadratus never appeared at theſe entertainments, not only when ſhe exhibited them in the theatre, but even in her own houſe; nor indeed did ſhe require him to be preſent. I once heard her ſay, when ſhe was recommending the ſtudies of her grand-ſon to my inſpection, that it was her cuſtom, in order to paſs away ſome of thoſe unemployed hours with which female life abounds, to amuſe herſelf with playing at [b] cheſs, or ſeeing the

ner and geſture of particular perſons. They were at firſt introduced upon the ſtage, as Scaliger ſuppoſes, to ſucceed the chorus and comedies, and divert the audience with buffoon poſtures and antic dances. In after times thoſe interludes became diſtinct entertainments, and were exhibited apart from other plays. But the uſe of theſe Pantomimes was not confined to the ſtage only, for Suetonius informs us, they were introduced in funeral ſolemnities, in order to repreſent the manner of the deceaſed.

[b] This game among the Romans ſeems to have been much of the ſame nature, though by Quadratilla diſmiſſing her grand-ſon when ſhe played at it, not in the ſame eſtimation as a *female* amuſement, with modern cheſs. Their men, which they called *Calculi* or *Latrunculi*, were made ſometimes of wax, and ſometimes of glaſs, and were diſtinguiſhed by black and white colours. The invention of it has been carried by ſome ſo high as the ſiege of Troy, but Peter Texeiras in his hiſtory of Perſia (as quoted by Pitiſcus in his Lex. Antiq. Rom.) imagines it to be of Perſian original, becauſe, ſays he, in all countries where this game is played, the names of the men are either the ſame with, or plainly a corruption of thoſe given to them in the Perſian language. Alluſions to this game are frequent in the claſſic writers; but the fulleſt deſcription of it is contained in the following lines, taken from the little poem addreſs'd to Piſo, which is

to

the mimicry of her pantomimes; but that whenever ſhe engaged in either of thoſe amuſements, ſhe conſtantly diſmiſſed her grand-ſon to his ſtudies: a diſmiſſion

to be found at the end of ſome editions of Lucan, and is generally aſcribed to that author:

Te ſi forte juvat, ſtudiorum pondere feſſum,
Non languere tamen, luſuſque movere per artem,
Callidiore modo Tabula variatur aperta
Calculus, et vitreo peraguntur milite bella,
Ut niveus nigros, nunc et niger alliget albos.
Sed tibi quis non terga dedit? quis te duce ceſſit
Calculus? aut quis non periturus perdidit hoſtem?
Mille modis acies tua dimicat: ille petentem
Dum fugit, ipſe rapit: longo venit ille receſſu
Qui ſtetit in ſpeculis: hic ſe committere rixæ
Audet, et in prædam venientem decipit hoſtem:
Ancipites ſubit ille moras, ſimiliſque ligato
Obligat ipſe duos: hic ad majora movetur,
Ut citus et fracta prorumpat in agmina mandra,
Clauſaque dejecto populatur mœnia vallo.
Interea, ſectis quamvis accerima ſurgunt
Prælia militibus, plena tamen ipſe phalange,
Aut etiam pauco ſpoliata milite vincis,
Et tibi captivæ reſonat manus utraque turbæ.
Ad Piſon. Poëmation.

When, to relieve the labours of thy mind,
Thou turn'ſt from deep reſearch in arts refin'd,
Not in ſoft indolence you waſte the hour,
But happier genius ſtill exerts its pow'r;
To mimic war the radiant troops are led,
And martial ranks the varied table ſpread;
There ſable bands, and *here* a ſnow-white train,
With doubtful fate of war the fight maintain.
But who with thee ſhall dare diſpute the field?
Led by thy hand, what warrior knows to yield?
Or if he fall, he falls with glorious pride,
His vanquiſh'd foe extended by his ſide.
Unnumber'd ſtratagems thy forces try;
Now artful feign, and only feign, to fly,

Now

a diſmiſſion which proceeded, I am inclined to think, as much out of a certain reverential awe ſhe felt upon thoſe occaſions in the preſence of the youth, as from her affection towards him. I was a good deal ſurprized, as I believe you will be, at what he told me the laſt time the Pontifical [c] games were exhibited. As we were coming out of the theatre together, where we had been entertained with her pantomimes, *Do you know*, ſaid he, *this is the firſt time I ever ſaw Quadratilla's freedman dance?* Such was the ſtriking declaration her grand-ſon made! while a ſet of men of a far different character, in order to do honour to Quadratilla (I am aſhamed to call it *honour*) with the loweſt and groſſeſt flattery were running up and down the theatre, affecting

Now boldly ruſhes 'midſt the ranks of war,
The chief who view'd the ſlaught'ring ſcene from far.
This, bravely daring in the arduous toil,
Repels the hoſt advancing to the ſpoil,
While cautious *that* moves dreadful on and ſlow,
And fraudful meditates the certain blow;
What tho' in guiſe a ſlave he ſeems in chains,
Two captives He in durance cloſe detains.
But ſee, yon hero with impetuous haſte,
Burſts thro' the ranks, and lays the ramparts waſte!
While thus the mighty battle glows around,
And proſtrate chiefs beſtrow the well-fought ground,
Full and unbroken lo! thy ſquadrons ſtand,
Or ſcarce one warrior loſt of thy command;
The captive crowds thy victory proclaim,
And foes confeſs thy undiſputed fame.

[c] The prieſts, as well as other magiſtrates, exhibited public games to the people when they entered upon their office. It ſhould ſeem by what follows, that *Quadratilla* had lent her troop of Pantomimes to honour the celebration of theſe Pontifical games.

affecting the utmoſt admiration and rapture at the performances of theſe her pantomimes, and then imitating, in muſical chant, the *mein and manner* of their lady patroneſs. But now all that theſe theatrical flatterers have obtained in return, is only a few trifling legacies, which they have the mortification to receive from an heir, who never but once deigned to be preſent at Quadratilla's ſhews.—I ſend you this account, as knowing you are not diſpleaſed to hear the news of the town, and becauſe, when any occurrence has rejoiced me, I love to renew it again, by communicating it to my friends. And indeed the laudable affection which Quadratilla has ſhewn in her will to her two heirs, and the particular honour done therein to that excellent youth her grand-ſon, has afforded me a very ſenſible ſatisfaction; as I am extremely glad too, that the houſe which once belonged to Caſſius, the founder and chief of the [d] Caſſian ſchool, is come into the poſſeſſion of a perſon not leſs reſpectable than its former maſter. For, my worthy friend will fill it as he ought, and its ancient luſtre will again revive under Quadratus; who, I am perſuaded, will prove as eminent an orator, as Caſſius was a lawyer. Farewel.

[d] A famous lawyer who flouriſhed in the reign of the emperor Claudius: thoſe who followed his juridical opinions, were ſaid to be Caſſiani, or of the ſchool of Caſſius.

LET-

LETTER XXV. *To* RUFUS.

WHAT numbers of learned men does modeſty conceal, or love of retirement withdraw, from public fame! and yet when we are going to ſpeak or recite in numerous aſſemblies, it is the judgement only of popular and oſtentatious talents of which we ſtand in awe; whereas we have more reaſon to revere the deciſions of thoſe who cultivate the ſciences in contemplative life, and form their opinions of works of genius in privacy and ſilence, undiſtracted by the noiſe of clamorous aſſemblies: an obſervation which I give you upon experience. Terentius Junior having paſſed thro' the military offices ſuitable to a perſon of Equeſtrian rank, and executed with great integrity the poſt of receiver-general of the revenues in [a] Narbonenſian Gaul, retired to his eſtate; preferring the enjoyment of an uninterrupted tranquillity, to thoſe honours which his ſervices had merited. He invited me lately to his houſe, where, looking upon him only as a worthy maſter of a family, and an induſtrious farmer, I ſtarted ſuch rural topics of converſation, in which I imagined he was moſt verſed. But he ſoon turned the diſcourſe, and diſplaying a great fund of

[a] One of the four principal diviſions of ancient Gaul: it extended from the Pyrenæan mountains, which ſeparate France from Spain, to the Alps, which divide it from Italy, and comprehended Languedoc, Provence, Dauphiny, and Savoy.

of knowledge, entered upon ſubjects of literature. I was aſtoniſhed at the elegance with which he expreſſed himſelf both in Latin and Greek! for he is ſo perfectly well ſkilled in each, that which ever he ſpeaks, ſeems to be the language wherein he particularly excels. How extenſive is his reading! how tenacious his memory! You would not imagine him the inhabitant of an ignorant country village, but a citizen of the learned Athens. In ſhort, his converſation has increaſed my ſolicitude concerning my works, and taught me to revere the judgement of theſe ſtudious country gentlemen, as much as that of more known and diſtinguiſhed literati. Let me perſuade you to conſider them in the ſame light; for believe me, upon a careful obſervation, you will often find in the literary as well as military world, moſt powerful abilities concealed under a ruſtic garb. Farewel.

LETTER XXVI. *To* MAXIMUS.

THE lingering diſorder of a friend of mine gave me occaſion lately to reflect, that we are always in the beſt moral diſpoſition when afflicted with ſickneſs. Where is the man, who, labouring under the pain of any diſtemper, is either ſolicited by avarice or enflamed with luſt? At ſuch a ſeaſon he is neither the ſlave of love, nor the fool of ambition; he looks with indif-

ference upon the charms of wealth, and is contented with ever ſo ſmall a portion of it, as being upon the point of leaving even that little. It is *then* he recollects there are Gods, and that he himſelf is but a [a] man: no mortal is *then* the object of his envy, his admiration, or his contempt; and having no malice to gratify, the tales of ſlander excite not his attention: his dreams run only upon the refreſhment of [b] baths and fountains. Theſe are the ſupreme objects of his thoughts and wiſhes, while he reſolves, if he ſhould recover, to paſs the remainder of his days diſengaged from the cares and buſineſs of the world; that is, in innocence and happineſs. I may therefore lay down to you and myſelf a ſhort rule, which the philoſophers have endeavoured to inculcate at the expence of many words, and even many volumes; that "we "ſhould realize in health, thoſe reſolutions we "form in ſickneſs." Farewel.

[a] The awakening power of adverſity in general, is ſo beautifully deſcribed by the baniſhed duke in Shakeſpeare's *As you like it*, that it will not, perhaps, be deemed foreign to the purpoſe to produce it as a parallel paſſage, eſpecially as the ſentiment in the ſecond line is exactly the ſame with this of Pliny's before us:

This is no flattery: Theſe are counſellors
That *feelingly perſuade me what I am.*
Sweet are the uſes of adverſity,
Which like the toad, ugly and venomous,
Wears yet a precious jewel in his head. Act. 2. Sc. 1.

[b] The ancient phyſicians adviſed bathing as of ſovereign efficacy in various diſorders.

LETTER XXVII. *To* SURA.

THE preſent receſs from buſineſs affords you leiſure to communicate, and me to receive, information. I am very deſirous to know your opinion concerning ſpectres; whether you believe they have a real exiſtence, and are a ſort of divinities, or are only the viſionary impreſſions of a terrified imagination? What particularly inclines me to give credit to their reality, is a ſtory[a] which I lately heard of Curtius Rufus. When he was in low circumſtances, and unknown in the world, he attended the governour of Africa into that province. One evening as he was walking in the public portico, he was extremely ſurprized with the apparition of a woman, whoſe figure and beauty were more than human. She told him ſhe was the tutelar power who preſided over Africa, and was come to inform him of the future events of his life: that he ſhould go back to Rome, where he ſhould be raiſed to the higheſt honours; ſhould return to that province inveſted with the proconſular dignity, and there ſhould die. Accordingly every circumſtance of this prediction was actually accom-

[a] This ſtory is likewiſe related by Tacitus in the 11th book of his annals, chap. 21.

accompliſhed. It is ſaid farther, that upon his arrival at Carthage, as he was coming out of the ſhip, the ſame figure accoſted him upon the ſhore. It is certain, at leaſt, that being ſeized with a fit of illneſs, tho' there were no ſymptoms in his caſe that led his attendants to deſpair, he inſtantly gave up all hope of recovery; judging, it ſhould ſeem, of the truth of the future part of the prophecy, by that which had already been fulfilled, and of the misfortune which threatened him, by the ſucceſs which he had experienced. To this ſtory let me add another not leſs remarkable than the former, but attended with more terrifying circumſtances: and I will give it you exactly as it was related to me. There was at Athens [b] a large and commodious houſe, which lay under the diſrepute of being haunted. In the dead of the night a noiſe, reſembling the claſhing of iron, was frequently heard, which, if you liſtened more attentively, ſounded like the rattling of chains. At firſt it ſeemed diſtant, but approached nearer by degrees, till a ſpectre appeared in the form of an old man, extremely meagre and ghaſtly, with a long beard and diſhevelled hair, rattling the chains on his feet and hands. The diſtreſſed inhabitants in the

[b] Lucian ridicules a ſtory pretty much reſembling this, but lays the ſcene of it in Corinth. Vid. Lucian. Philopſeud.

mean while paſſed their nights under the moſt dreadful terrors imaginable. This, as it broke their reſt, ruined alſo their health, and brought on diſtempers, which, together with their conſtant horrors of mind, proved in the end fatal to their lives. Even in the day-time, tho' the ſpirit did not then appear, yet the impreſſion remained ſo ſtrong upon their imaginations, that it ſtill ſeemed before their eyes, and kept them in perpetual alarm. By theſe means the houſe was at laſt deſerted, as being deemed abſolutely uninhabitable; ſo that it was now entirely abandoned to the ghoſt. However, in hopes that ſome tenant might be found who was ignorant of this very alarming circumſtance which attended it, a bill was put up, giving notice that it was either to be let or ſold. It happened that Athenodorus the philoſopher came to Athens at this time, and reading the bill, enquired the price. The extraordinary cheapneſs raiſed his ſuſpicion; nevertheleſs, when he heard the whole ſtory, he was ſo far from being diſcouraged, that he was more ſtrongly inclined to hire it, and, in ſhort, actually did ſo. When it grew towards evening, he ordered a couch to be prepared for him in the fore-part of the houſe, and after calling for a light, together with his pencil and tablets, he directed all his people to retire. But, that his mind might not, for want of employment, be open

to the vain terrors of imaginary noiſes and ſpirits, he applied himſelf to writing with the utmoſt attention. The firſt part of the night paſſed in uſual ſilence, when at length the chains began to rattle: however, he neither lifted up his eyes, nor laid down his pencil, but diverted his obſervation by purſuing his ſtudies with greater earneſtneſs. The noiſe increaſed and advanced nearer, till it ſeemed at the door, and at laſt in the chamber. He looked up, and ſaw the ghoſt exactly in the manner it had been deſcribed to him: it ſtood before him, beckoning with the finger. Athenodorus made a ſign with his hand, that it ſhould wait a little, and threw his eyes again upon his papers; but the ghoſt ſtill rattling his chains in his ears, he looked up and ſaw him beckoning as before. Upon this he immediately aroſe, and, with the light in his hand, followed it. The ſpectre ſlowly ſtalked along, as if encumbered with his chains, and turning into the area of the houſe, ſuddenly vaniſhed. Athenodorus being thus deſerted, made a mark with ſome graſs and leaves where the ſpirit left him. The next day, he gave information to the magiſtrates, and adviſed them to order that ſpot to be dug up. This was accordingly done, and the ſkeleton of a man in chains was there found; for, the body having

ing lain a conſiderable time in the ground, was putrified, and had mouldered away from the fetters. The bones being collected together were publicly buried: and thus, after the ghoſt was appeaſed by the proper ceremonies, the houſe was haunted no more. This ſtory I believe upon the credit of others; what I am going to mention, I give you upon my own. I have a freed-man named Marcus, who is by no means illiterate. One * night as he and his younger brother were lying together, he fancied he ſaw ſome perſon upon his bed, who took out a pair of ſciſſars, and cut off the hair from the top part of his head: in the morning, it appeared the boy's hair was actually cut, and the clippings lay ſcattered about the floor. A ſhort time after, an event of the like nature contributed to give credit to the former

* Thoſe who are unacquainted with the genius of the religion of ancient Rome, may be inclined to think meanly of our author's judgement, from this and the following ſtory; but when it is remembered, that the greateſt characters which we meet with among that illuſtrious people, are all ſtrongly marked with a vein of ſuperſtition, no particular charge of weak credulity can with juſtice be brought from hence againſt Pliny. The truth is, it was a national turn, and countenanced by the conſtitution of their government, inſomuch that omens, even of the loweſt kind, were conſidered previous to every ſtep either of foreign or domeſtic concern: and the wiſeſt and graveſt of their hiſtorians, the judicious Livy not excepted, have given into accounts of this nature. Even a noble hiſtorian among our own countrymen, has not ſcrupled to inſert a relation of the ſame kind and credibility, in his hiſtory of the civil wars.

mer ſtory. A young lad of my family was ſleeping in his apartment with the reſt of his companions, when two perſons clad in white came in, as he ſays, thro' the windows, and cut off his hair as he lay; and having finiſhed the operation, returned the ſame way they entered. The next morning it was found that this boy had been ſerved juſt as the other, and with the very ſame circumſtance of the hair ſpread about the room. Nothing remarkable indeed followed theſe events, unleſs that I eſcaped a proſecution, in which, if Domitian (during whoſe reign this happened) had lived ſome time longer, I ſhould certainly have been involved. For, after the death of that emperor, articles of impeachment againſt me were found in his ſcrutore, which had been exhibited by Carus. It may therefore be conjectured, ſince it is cuſtomary for perſons under any public accuſation to let their hair grow, this cutting off the hair of my ſervants was a ſign I ſhould eſcape the imminent danger that threatened me. Let me deſire you then maturely to conſider this queſtion. The ſubject merits your examination; as, I truſt, I am not myſelf altogether unworthy to participate of the abundance of your ſuperiour knowledge. And tho' you ſhould, with your uſual ſcepticiſm, balance between two opinions, yet I hope you will throw the weightier reaſons on one ſide, leſt, whilſt I conſult

you in order to have my doubt ſettled, you ſhould diſmiſs me in the ſame ſuſpence and indeciſion that occaſioned you the preſent application. Farewel.

LETTER XXVIII. *To* SEPTITIUS.

THERE are, it ſeems, certain perſons who in your company have blamed me, as being upon all occaſions too laviſh in commendation of my friends. I not only acknowledge the charge, but glory in it; for, can there be a nobler error than an over-flowing benevolence? But ſtill who are theſe, let me aſk, that are better acquainted with my friends than I am myſelf? Yet grant there are any ſuch, why will they deny me the ſatisfaction of ſo pleaſing an error? For, ſuppoſing my friends deſerve not the high encomiums I give them, certainly I am happy in believing they do. Let them recommend then this ungenerous diſcernment to thoſe who imagine (and their number is not inconſiderable) that they ſhew their judgment, when they indulge their cenſure. As for myſelf, they will never perſuade me that I can love my [a] friends too well. Farewel.

[a] Balzac with his uſual happineſs of alluſion, obſerves, "Il "y a des rivieres qui ne font jamais tant de bien que quand "elles ſe debordent; de meme l'amitié n'a rien de meilleur "que l'exces."

LET-

LETTER XXIX. *To* MONTANUS.

IT would raiſe your laughter firſt, and then your indignation, and perhaps, after having compoſed yourſelf a little, you would be inclined to laugh again, when you read what I am going to mention, and which you will ſcarcely credit without ocular inſpection. I lately obſerved in the Tiburtine [a] road, near the firſt mile-ſtone, a monument erected to the memory of [b] Pallas, with the following inſcription: THE SENATE DECREED TO HIM, AS A REWARD FOR HIS FIDELITY AND AFFECTION TO HIS PATRONS, THE HONOUR OF THE PRÆTORIAN [c] ORNAMENTS, TOGETHER WITH THE SUM OF FIFTEEN MILLION OF [d] SESTERCES: BUT HE WAS CONTENTED WITH ACCEPTING ONLY THE HONOUR. I am not indeed apt to wonder at diſtinctions of this ſort, which are oftener the gift of Fortune than of Judgement; but I could not help reflecting, when I read this

[a] The road leading to *Tivoli*, in Campania.

[b] He was at firſt a ſlave in the court of Claudius Cæſar, who afterwards gave him his freedom, and raiſed him to his chief favour. The patrons mentioned in this Inſcription, are, that emperor and his conſort Agrippina, to whom Pallas had likewiſe recommended himſelf by ſome ſignal ſervices.

[c] The ſenate, as a mark of honourable diſtinction, ſometimes decreed the privilege of wearing the ornaments peculiar to certain dignities, to perſons who had not enjoyed the office to which thoſe ornaments were annexed.

[d] About 320,000 l. of our money.

this inſcription, how contemptible and ridiculous are thoſe honours, which are thus ſometimes thrown away upon dirt and infamy; which ſuch a raſcal, in ſhort, had the aſſurance both to accept and to refuſe, and then ſet himſelf forth to poſterity as an example of ſingular moderation! Yet why ſhould it raiſe my indignation? rather let me treat it as a matter of deriſion, that perſons of this vile character may not flatter themſelves they have obtained any thing truly enviable, when their honours only expoſe them to ſeverer ridicule. Farewel.

LETTER XXX. *To* GENITOR.

I AM extremely concerned to find that you have loſt your pupil; a youth, as your letter aſſures me, of ſuch great hopes. Can I want to be informed, that his ſickneſs and death muſt have interrupted your ſtudies, knowing, as I do, with what exactneſs you fill up every duty of life, and how warm your affection is to all thoſe to whom you give your eſteem? As for myſelf, the uſual buſineſs of Rome purſues me to this place; and I am not out of the reach of people even here, who appeal to me either as their judge, or their arbitrator. Nor is this all: for, not only the farmers claim a ſort of preſcription to try my patience as they pleaſe by their continual complaints; but alſo the neceſſity of letting out my farms, gives me much

much trouble, as it is exceedingly difficult to find proper tenants. For theſe reaſons I can only ſtudy by ſnatches: ſtill however I *do* ſtudy occaſionally, and both compoſe and read by turns: but my reading teaches me, by a very mortifying compariſon, with what ill ſucceſs I attempt to be an author myſelf. Tho' indeed you give me great encouragement, when you compare the piece I wrote in vindication of *Helvidius*, to the oration of Demoſthenes againſt Midias. I confeſs I had that harangue in my view: not that I was ſo vain and abſurd as to pretend to rival it, but I endeavoured at leaſt to imitate it, as far as the difference of our ſubjects would admit, and as nearly as a genius of the loweſt rank can copy one of the higheſt. Farewel.

LETTER XXXI. *To* CORNUTUS.

CLaudius Pollio is extremely deſirous of your friendſhip; and he deſerves it, not only becauſe he *deſires* it, but becauſe he offers you *his* in return; as indeed few ever requeſt the one, without being diſpoſed to give the other. He is an upright, honeſt, good-natured man, and modeſt, I had almoſt ſaid, beyond meaſure; if indeed that virtue can be carried to exceſs. We ſerved in the army together, when he commanded a troop of horſe; and I had an opportunity

portunity of taking a nearer view of his character, than merely what his being my fellow-officer gave me. I was appointed by the lieutenant-general to examine the accounts of the ſeveral companies; and as I diſcovered many inſtances of groſs avarice and neglect of duty in ſome, ſo I found the higheſt integrity and exacteſt care in Pollio. He was afterwards promoted to very conſiderable employments in the revenue; yet no temptations could corrupt the innate integrity of his ſoul, and no proſperity ſwell his breaſt with pride, but he preſerved, in all the variety of poſts thro' which he paſſed, his honour and his humanity unimpeached; to which I will add, he ſupported the fatigues of buſineſs with the ſame firmneſs of mind he now diſcovers in his retreat. He once indeed quitted his retirement for a ſhort time, greatly to his credit; being called forth by my worthy friend Corellius to his aſſiſtance, in purchaſing and dividing thoſe lands which were given to the public by the liberality of the emperor [b] Nerva. And could there be any circumſtance more to his honour, than to be thus particularly ſingled out as his coadjutor, by a perſon

[b] Nerva reſtored to the Romans all that Domitian had plundered them of; and gave a very large ſum of money to be laid out in the purchaſe of lands for the ſupport of decayed families.

ſon of ſo eminent a character as Corellius? You may judge how faithfully he reveres the ſacred ties of friendſhip by the laſt wills [b] of ſeveral of his friends, particularly that of Muſonius Baſſus, a man of diſtinguiſhed merit. Pollio (for he cultivates polite literature as well as every other valuable qualification) has very gratefully endeavoured to perpetuate and extend the memory of Baſſus, by publiſhing an account of his life: a circumſtance too uncommon and too generous, not to be particularly applauded; ſince the generality of the world ſeldom mention the dead, unleſs to complain of them [c]. Receive then this worthy man, greatly deſirous (believe me) of your amity, with warm embraces, and even invite him to accept of it as what you owe him; for, he who makes the firſt advances towards friendſhip, cannot ſo properly be ſaid to ſolicit as to claim a return. Farewel.

[b] See letter 20. of this book, note [b].

[c] Pliny ſeems to allude to the *Captatores*, or legacy hunters: a contemptible character extremely common among the Romans in the decline of their ſtate, when the prevailing luxury of the times rendered too many of them, in order to ſupply their extravagance, capable of any meanneſs to obtain a pecuniary remembrance in the wills of their wealthy acquaintance, and too much mortified not to complain when they found themſelves diſappointed.

LET-

LETTER XXXII. *To* FABATUS.[a]

I Rejoice that the arrival of my friend Tiro was acceptable to you; but particulary, that you made uſe (as your letter informs me) of the opportunity which the preſence of the proconſul afforded you, of manumizing [b] ſeveral of your ſlaves. For, as I wiſh to ſee our corporation[c] improved by every poſſible means, ſo particularly by an increaſe of citizens, as that, of all others, is the ſtrongeſt ornament a community can receive. I am pleaſed too (not out of a ſpirit of vanity, however I confeſs I am pleaſed) with what you add, that both you and I were highly complimented, in the acknowledgments which were made upon this occaſion; for, as Xenophon obſerves, "*the voice* "*of praiſe is ſweet*;" eſpecially when we think we deſerve it. Farewel.

LETTER XXXIII. *To* TACITUS.

I Strongly preſage (and I am perſuaded I ſhall not be deceiv'd) that your hiſtories will be immortal. I ingenuouſly own therefore[d], I ſo much the

[a] His wife Calphurnia's grandfather.
[b] See letter 16 of this book.
[c] Comum.
[d] As ſome ingenious writers have affected to draw a compariſon between our author and Cicero, to the diſadvantage of the

the more earneſtly wiſh to find a place in them. If we are generally careful to have our perſons repreſented by the beſt artiſts, ought we not to deſire that our actions may be related and celebrated by an author of your diſtinguiſhed abilities? In view to this, I acquaint you with the following affair, which tho' it cannot have eſcaped your attention,

the former; it will not, 'tis hoped, be thought any want of reverence to a character, which deſerves the higheſt veneration from every admirer of the fine arts, to ſet before the reader an inſtance, where Pliny greatly outſhines that noble example he was, upon all occaſions, ſo deſirous of copying. There is a letter of Cicero extant for the ſame purpoſe as this of Pliny's, addreſſed to his friend Lucceius *, who was writing the hiſtory of his own times. The ſenſible Montaign condemns *both* as inſtances of immoderate ambition; and obſerves, that "† fortune, as it were in pure ſpight, has taken care to hand "down to us the vanity of theſe requeſts, while ſhe has long "ſince deſtroyed the hiſtories they ſolicited." Let it be remarked, however, in juſtice to our author, that upon a compariſon of the two letters, the ambition of Pliny will appear far more reaſonable than that of Cicero; for, the latter does not ſcruple to preſs his friend to tranſgreſs the rules of hiſtory, and break through the bounds of truth in his favour. *Te plane etiam atque etiam rogo, ut & ornas ea vehementius etiam quam fortaſſe ſentis, & in ea leges hiſtoriæ negligas, amorique noſtro pluſculum etiam quam concedit veritas largire:* whereas Pliny, with a far nobler ſpirit, expreſsly declares he does not deſire Tacitus to heighten the fact, and that actions of real worth need only to be ſet in their true light. In Cicero's letter, we read the extravagant dictates of the moſt immoderate ambition; and he himſelf confeſſes he had not the aſſurance to look his friend in the face while he expreſſed them: *Coram me tecum eadem hæc agere ſæpe conantem deterruit pudor:* in Pliny's, we ſee nothing but what is agreeable to cool ſenſe, and the honeſt ambition of one who was conſcious he had acted well, and deſirous poſterity ſhould know it.

* Ep. fam. l. 5. 12. † Tom. I. 329.

attention, as it is mentioned in the [e] public journals, ſtill I acquaint you with it, that you may be the more ſenſible how agreeable it will be to me, that this action, greatly heightened by the hazard which attended it, ſhould receive an additional luſtre from the teſtimony of ſo bright a genius. The ſenate appointed Herennius Senecio, and myſelf, counſel for the province of Bœtica, in their impeachment of Bœbius Maſſa. He was condemned; and the houſe ordered his effects to be ſeized into the hands of the public officer. Shortly after, Senecio having learnt that

[e] Whether Pliny means by the *Publica acta*, the journal of the ſenate, or what * Tacitus and † Suetonius call the *Diurna acta*, may admit of a doubt. The former ſeems to have been exactly in the nature of our Votes of the houſe of commons, wherein a ſhort account was given to the public of what paſſed in the ſenate; the latter appears very much to reſemble our Gazette, being an authorized narrative of the tranſactions worthy of notice which happened in Rome. Petronius has given us the form of the latter of theſe, in his account of Trimalchio; and as it may not, perhaps, be unentertaining to the Engliſh reader, to ſee how exactly a Roman news-paper runs in the ſtile of a modern one, the following is an article or two out of it.

"On the 26th of July, 30 boys and 40 girls were born at "Trimalchio's eſtate at Cuma."

"At the ſame time, a ſlave was put to death for uttering "diſrepectful words againſt his lord."

"The ſame day, a fire broke out in Pompey's gardens, "which began in the night, in the ſteward's apartment." Petron. ſatyr. p. 196, ed. Var.

* Annal. 30. 31. † In J. Cæſar. 20.

that the conſuls intended to ſit to hear petitions, came to me, and propoſed that we ſhould go together, and addreſs them with the ſame unanimity we executed the office which had been enjoined us, that they would not ſuffer Maſſa's effects to be diſſipated by thoſe who were appointed to preſerve them. I anſwered, that as we had been counſel in this cauſe by order of the ſenate, I would recommend it to his conſideration, whether it would be proper for us, after ſentence had paſſed, to interpoſe any farther. "You are at liberty, ſaid he, to preſcribe what bounds you pleaſe to yourſelf, who have no particular connections with the province, except what reſult from your late ſervices to them; but they have a much ſtronger claim upon me, who was born there, and enjoyed the poſt of Quæſtor among them." If ſuch, I replied, was his determined reſolution, I was ready to attend him, that whatever reſentment ſhould be the conſequence, it might not fall ſingly upon himſelf. Accordingly we went to the conſuls, where Senecio declared what he thought proper upon the occaſion; to which I ſubjoined a few words on my part. We had ſcarcely ended, when Maſſa, complaining that Senecio had not acted againſt him with the fidelity of an advocate, but the bitterneſs of an enemy, deſired he might be at liberty to pro-

ſecute him for [f] treaſon. The whole aſſembly was ſtruck with the utmoſt conſternation and horrour at this motion. I immediately roſe up; "Moſt "noble

[f] The reader will undoubtedly be ſurprized to find a proſecution of *treaſon*, founded merely upon a ſuggeſtion of miſconduct in the management of a private trial. But this difficulty will be cleared, perhaps, by conſidering the character of Domitian, in whoſe reign this tranſaction happened. To ſhew any diſlike to thoſe who were the favourites of that infamous emperor, was conſtrued by him into an act of treaſon againſt himſelf. He could gather that poiſonous weed (as our author in his panegyric ſtrongly expreſſes it) even from the barren ſands of the theatre (*crimina majeſtatis in arena colligebat*;) for not to admire even his gladiators, was deemed, in thoſe wretched times, an act of diſloyalty. If therefore Maſſa was in the good graces of Domitian it would have been very eaſy for the former, to ſtrain the honeſt zeal which Senecio had ſhewn in conducting this cauſe, into an inſtance of diſreſpect to the emperor. And the character which Tacitus gives of this Maſſa ſtrongly ſupports that ſuppoſition; for, he deſcribes him as the bane of every good man, and an inſtrument of thoſe calamities which the Romans ſuffered under Domitian; *optimo cuique exitioſus*, ſays he, *& in cauſas malorum quæ tulimus.* [Tacit. hiſt. l. 4. 50.] It muſt be owned however, that the expreſſion in the original (*poſtulatio impietatis*) does not ſo abſolutely and neceſſarily imply, a proſecution of treaſon, but that it may admit of another interpretation. Accordingly, a gentleman of diſtinguiſhed learning, who favoured the tranſlator with his ſentiments upon this paſſage, has offered a conjecture much too ingenious to be ſuppreſſed. "It was the practice (he obſerves) of the an-"cients, that all depoſits, truſts, ſequeſtrations, wills, &c. "ſhould be lodged in the moſt ſecure and unſuſpected places; "accordingly they choſe their temples for that purpoſe, and "the prieſts were of courſe the legal ſequeſtrators;

Nos ibi apud Theotimum omne aurum depoſuimus,
Qui illic ſacerdos eſt in Dianæ Epheſiæ.

Plaut. Bacch.

"And

"noble conſuls," ſaid I, "I am afraid it ſhould ſeem "that Maſſa has tacitly charged me with having "favoured him in this cauſe, ſince he did not think "proper to join me with Senecio in the deſired "proſecution." This ſhort ſpeech was extremely well received by thoſe who were preſent; as it ſoon afterwards got abroad, and was publicly mentioned with general applauſe. The late emperour Nerva (who tho' at that time in a private ſtation, yet intereſted himſelf in every meritorious action which concerned the public) wrote an admirable letter to me upon the occaſion, wherein he not only congratulated me, but the age, which had produced an example ſo much in the ſpirit (as he was pleaſed to call it) of better days. But, whatever the fact be, it is in your power to heighten and ſpread the luſtre of it: tho' far am I from deſiring you would in the leaſt exceed the bounds of reality. Hiſtory ought to be guided by ſtrict truth; and worthy actions require nothing more. Farewel.

"And of this the claſſic and civil-law books furniſh abundant "proof. He thinks therefore, that an inſinuation that Maſſa "had been tampering with the church to betray this *fidei-* "*commiſſum*, and that the ſecurity became ſuſpicious, might "*poſſibly* carry an action of *impiety*." However, upon a cloſer examination of the letter, and comparing it with the hiſtory of that age, the interpretation adopted in the text, may, perhaps, be juſtified.

THE LETTERS OF *PLINY.*

BOOK VIII.

LETTER I. *To* SEPTITIUS.

I Had a good journey hither, excepting only that ſome of my ſervants have ſuffered in their health by the violent heats. Poor Encolpius, my[a] reader, whoſe aſſiſtance is of ſuch ſervice to me both in my ſtudies and amuſements, was ſo affected by the duſt, that it occaſioned his ſpitting of blood: an

[a] Perſons of rank and literature among the Romans, retained in their families a domeſtic, whoſe principal buſineſs was to read to them.

accident which will prove not leſs unfortunate to me, than to himſelf, ſhould he be thereby rendered unfit for thoſe purpoſes of literature in which he ſo greatly excels. If that ſhould unhappily be the event; where ſhall I find one who will read my compoſitions with ſo much ſpirit and ſo captivating an elocution, or admire them with ſo much feeling? But the gods ſeem to favour our better hopes, as his bleeding is ſtopped, and his pain abated. He is extremely temperate on *his* part; and no attention is wanting on mine, nor any care on his phyſician's. Theſe conſiderations, together with the ſalubrity of this air, and the quiet of retirement, give us reaſon to expect, that the country will contribute as much to the reſtoration of his health, as to his repoſe. Farewel.

LETTER II. *To* CALVISIUS.

OTHER people viſit their eſtates in order to recruit their purſes, but I go to mine only to return ſo much the poorer. I had ſold my vintage to the merchants, who were extremely eager to purchaſe it, encouraged by the price it then bore, and what it was probable it would riſe to: however they were diſappointed in their expectations. Upon this occaſion to have made one

general undiſtinguiſhed abatement to all, would have been much the eaſieſt, but not the moſt equitable method. I hold it particularly worthy of a man of honour, to be governed by the principles of ſtrict equity in his domeſtic as well as public conduct; in ſmall, as in great affairs; in his own concerns, as well as in thoſe of others: And if every deviation from rectitude is equally [a] criminal, every approach to it muſt be equally laudable. In the firſt place then, I remitted to all in general one eighth part of the price they had agreed to give me; that none might go away without a mark of my liberality: in the next, I particularly conſidered thoſe who having advanced to me large ſums in part of payment, had done me ſo much the more ſervice, and had been the greater ſufferers themſelves. To thoſe therefore, whoſe purchaſe amounted to more than [b] ten thouſand ſeſterces, I returned (beſide that which I may call the general and common eighth) a tenth part of what they had paid above that ſum. I fear I do not expreſs myſelf with ſufficient clearneſs; I will endeavour to explain my meaning: for inſtance, ſuppoſe a man had purchaſed of me to the value of [c] fifteen thouſand ſeſterces; I remitted to him one eighth part

[a] It was a doctrine maintained by the Stoics, that all crimes are equal.

[b] About 80l. of our money.

[c] About 120l. of our money.

of that whole ſum, and likewiſe one tenth of [d] five thouſand. Beſides this, as ſeveral had depoſited, in different proportions, part of the price they had agreed to pay, whilſt others had advanced nothing; I thought it would not be agreeable to equity, that all theſe ſhould be favoured with the ſame equal remiſſion. To thoſe therefore, who had made any payments, I returned a tenth part upon the ſums ſo paid. By theſe means, I made a proper acknowledgment to each, according to their reſpective deſerts; and likewiſe encouraged them, not only to deal with me for the future, but to be prompt in their payments. This inſtance of my good-nature or my judgement (call it which you pleaſe) was a very conſiderable expence to me. However, I found my account in it; for, all the country greatly commended both the ſingular generoſity of theſe abatements, and the principle by which I regulated them. Even thoſe to whom I did not *mete* (as the proverb is) *by the ſame meaſure*, but adjuſted the remiſſion to the ſum they had advanced, held themſelves obliged to me, in proportion to the probity of their principles; and went away pleaſed with having experienced, that not from me

[e] *The good and bad an equal boon receive.*

Farewel.

[d] About 40 l. ſterling.
[e] Hom. Il. lib. 9. v. 319.

LET-

LETTER III. *To* SPARSUS.

YOU tell me, that of all my works, the laſt I ſent you is your greateſt favourite. The ſame judgement has likewiſe been paſſed upon it by another of my very knowing and ingenious friends: and I am the more inclined to believe that neither of you is miſtaken, not only as it is improbable you both ſhould, but becauſe I am much diſpoſed to flatter myſelf. I always endeavour indeed, that my laſt performance may appear the moſt finiſhed; and for that reaſon I prefer the ſpeech I lately publiſhed, to that which you mention: I will ſend it you as ſoon as I can meet with a ſafe conveyance. And now I have raiſed your expectations of this piece, I doubt you will be diſappointed when it comes to your hands. In the mean while, however, you may indulge the agreeable perſuaſion (and perhaps too without being diſappointed) that it is a compoſition you will read with pleaſure. Farewel.

LETTER IV. *To* CANINIUS.

I Greatly approve your deſign of writing a poem upon the [a] Dacian war: for where could you have choſen a recent ſubject ſo full of events, ſo extenſive,

[a] Dacia comprehended part of the preſent kingdom of Hungary, together with part of Tranſilvania, Servia, Walachia

extenſive, or indeed ſo capable of poetical ornament? a ſubject which, while it has all the marvellous of fiction, has all the recommendation of truth. You will ſing of rivers taught to flow in new channels; of bridges [b] thrown over immenſe rivers; of encampments upon the dreadful precipices

chia and Moldavia. It was firſt ſubdued and added to the Roman empire by Trajan; in memory of whoſe victories over this nation, the famous pillar is ſuppoſed to have been erected, called *Trajan's pillar*, which is ſtill to be ſeen entire at Rome. It is 128 Italian feet high, to the top of which you aſcend by 184 ſteps, which wind round the inſide. The outſide is carved in baſſo relievo, with the repreſentation of the moſt remarkable circumſtances of this expedition. [Bartoli colonna Traj.] After the death of Trajan, his aſhes were placed, as ſome authors ſay, in a golden ball on the top of this noble pillar: but Eutropius affirms they were depoſited under it. Eutrop. l. 8. c. 5.

[b] It is probable Pliny here alludes to the famous bridge built by Trajan over the river Danube, in the upper Mœſia, that *laſt flight*, as Sir William Temple calls it, *of ancient architecture*. "It is ſtiled by the ancients, the moſt ſtately fa-" bric of that nature in the univerſe. It was all of ſquare " ſtone, and contained 20 arches, each of them 120 feet " above the foundation, and 60 feet in breadth, all diſtinct " from each other 170 feet. It was built where the river was " narroweſt, and conſequently where the ſtream was ſtrongeſt " and moſt rapid; which renders the fabric ſtill more ſtupen-" dous, on account of the almoſt inſurmountable difficulties " they muſt have met with in laying ſo large a foundation. " The architect employed upon this occaſion, was one Apol-" lodorus of Damaſcus, who, it ſeems, left a deſcription of " this great work. We are told that ſome remains are ſtill " to be ſeen of it near Zeveria, in Lower Hungary.—Adrian " fearing the Barbarians might make uſe of it to invade the " Roman territories, broke down the arches; but the piers " were ſtill ſtanding in Dion Caſſius's time, that is, 120 years " after, though they ſerved only to ſhew, ſays the writer, " the utmoſt extent of human power. This ſtupendous fa-" bric was begun and ended in a ſummer." Univ. Hiſt. v. vi. p. 14.

cipices of craggy mountains; and of a brave [c] prince who, tho' driven from his palace, preſerved his courage unſubdued to the laſt moment of his life. You will deſcribe too, the glorious victor's double triumph, one of which was the firſt that was ever gained over that nation, 'till *then* invincible, as the other will be the laſt. There is one difficulty however, and a very conſiderable one it is, where to find expreſſions equal to the ſubject; a difficulty which ſeems almoſt inſuperable even by your elevated genius, tho' capable of riſing to the moſt ſublime topics. Some difficulty too you will find in reconciling thoſe barbarous and uncouth names, eſpecially that of the [d] king himſelf, to the harmony of Grecian numbers. There is nothing, however, ſo hard that art and induſtry cannot mitigate at leaſt, if not abſolutely ſubdue. If Homer is allowed to contract or lengthen, or change even Grecian names, which are nothing harſh to the ear, in order to make them run more ſmoothly in his verſe; why ſhould the ſame liberty be refuſed to you, eſpecially ſince it is neceſſity,

[c] Decebalus, king of the Dacians, who rather than fall into the hands of the conqueror, or live in dependence, put an end to his own life.

[d] From hence Catanæus conjectures, upon the credit of Oroſius, that the true name of the king was *Diurpaneus*, which was afterwards changed by the Greek and Latin writers, to Decebalus.

neceſſity, and not affectation, that pleads for the indulgence? Come on then, my friend, and after having, as poets are wont, invoked the gods, and among the reſt, that divine hero*, whoſe mighty deeds and deep counſels you are going to celebrate, looſen all your cordage, ſpread every ſail, and then, if ever, launch forth with the full flow of your unbounded genius:—for you muſt allow me to be poetical, when I am talking to a poet. And now I inſiſt that you ſend me every part, as ſoon as it ſhall have received your laſt finiſhing touches; and even before, while it is only a rough ſketch, and unformed embryo. You will tell me, that a detached portion cannot pleaſe, like one entire piece, nor an unfiniſhed plan be as ſatisfactory as a complete work. I am ſenſible it cannot, and therefore ſhall conſider it only as in its firſt rudiments: as a ſeparate and disjoined member; and ſhall lay it up in my ſcrutore, to wait your laſt hand. Indulge me then with this very ſingular inſtance of your affection, and ſuffer me to be privy to what you would chooſe to conceal even from every other perſon. In a word, though the more time and caution you take in communicating your work to the public, the more, poſſibly, it may heighten my eſteem and approbation

* Trajan.

approbation of the poet, yet the ſooner and with the leſs ſcruple you ſend it to me, the more I ſhall love and applaud the friend. Farewel.

LETTER V. *To* GEMINIUS.

OUR friend Macrinus has received a moſt ſevere wound: He has loſt his wife! a lady whoſe exemplary virtues would have rendered her an ornament even to former times. He lived with her thirty-nine years in the moſt uninterrupted harmony. How reſpectful was her behaviour to him! and how well did ſhe herſelf deſerve the higheſt reſpect! In her character were united all thoſe amiable virtues that adorn and diſtinguiſh the different periods of female life! It ſhould, ſurely, afford great conſolation to Macrinus, that he has thus long enjoyed ſo exquiſite a bleſſing. But that reflection ſeems only ſo much the more to imbitter his loſs; as indeed the pain of parting with our happineſs, ſtill riſes in proportion to the length of its continuance. I cannot therefore but be greatly anxious for ſo valuable a friend, till this deep wound to his peace ſhall be in a ſtate to admit of proper applications. Time however, together with a ſatiety of grief itſelf, will beſt and indeed neceſſarily effect his cure. Farewel.

LET-

LETTER VI. *To* MONTANUS.

MY laſt letter has by this time, I ſuppoſe, informed you, that I obſerved lately upon a monument erected to the memory of Pallas, the following inſcription: *The* [a] *ſenate decreed to him as a reward for his fidelity and affection to his patrons, the honour of the Prætorian ornaments, together with the ſum of fifteen millions of ſeſterces: but he was contented with accepting only the honour.* I afterwards thought it worth while to ſearch for the original record, and it run in a ſtrain ſo very extravagant, that this proud inſcription ſeems modeſt and humble, compared with the terms of the decree. The eulogiums which have been given to the moſt illuſtrious Romans, I do not ſay thoſe of more remote antiquity, as the Scipios and the Mummii; but (to come nearer our own times) the Marii, the Syllas, and the Pompeys, fall infinitely ſhort of thoſe which have been laviſhed upon this man. Was it a ſpirit of banter, ſhall I ſuppoſe, or a principle of ſlavery that produced this decree? I would aſcribe it to the former, were not raillery unbecoming the dignity of the ſenate. Muſt it be attributed then to be the moſt abject ſubjection?

[a] See B. 7. let. 29th, and the notes there.

ſubjection? Yet who is ſo wretchedly ſunk as to be capable of ſuch meanneſs! Or was it the luſt of ambition that gave birth to this decree; and the mover of it in the ſenate propoſed it, perhaps, with a view of paving the way to his own preferment? But whom can we ſuppoſe ſo irrational, as to deſire to raiſe himſelf at the expence both of his own and the public honour, in a commonwealth where the only means to be firſt in rank was to be firſt in flattering Pallas? Not to mention their offering to a ſlave the Prætorian honours; they were ſlaves themſelves who made the offer: not to animadvert upon that part of their decree, which ſays, that Pallas ought, not only to be intreated, but compelled to wear the [b] golden ring; no doubt it was not conſiſtent with the dignity of the ſenate, that a perſon of Prætorian rank ſhould wear an iron one: to paſs over, I ſay, theſe leſs flagrant inſtances; mark, I beſeech you, the following very extraordinary clauſe: *The ſenate* (and was it not expiated in form after ſo vile a pollution?) *the ſenate returns thanks to Claudius, not only for the honourable mention he himſelf was pleaſed to make of Pallas, but for the opportunity afforded the houſe alſo of teſtifying their benevolence towards him.* It was highly to the credit, no doubt, of the ſenate, not to

[b] None but knights and ſenators had the privilege of wearing a gold ring; as an iron one was a badge of ſervitude.

to appear deficient in point of gratitude to Pallas! It goes on: *That Pallas, to whom every man acknowledges his obligations in the beſt manner he is able, may receive the juſt reward of his fidelity and ſingular ſervices.* Would one not imagine that he had extended the bounds of the empire, or at leaſt, reſcued the armies of the ſtate? But it proceeds: *ſince no occaſion more agreeable could preſent itſelf to the ſenate and the Roman people, of exerciſing their liberality, than an opportunity of rewarding one who had proved himſelf ſo honeſt and diſintereſted a guardian of the emperor's finances.*—Such was the glorious ambition of the ſenate at that time; ſuch the higheſt pleaſure of the people; ſuch the moſt agreeable occaſion of exerciſing their liberality; to have an opportunity of exhauſting the public treaſures upon Pallas! It continues; *the ſenate therefore voted that fifteen millions of ſeſterces ſhould be paid to him out of the treaſury; and as he has a ſoul far above deſires of this kind, that the emperor ſhould be ſo much the more ſtrongly intreated to uſe his authority with Pallas, to oblige him to comply with the inclination of the ſenate.* Nothing more indeed ſeemed wanting to complete this extravagant ſcene, than that the imperial authority ſhould interpoſe; that Pallas ſhould be preſſed to yield to the deſires of the ſenate; that Cæſar himſelf ſhould be called upon to aſſiſt the houſe in oppoſing this inſo-

inſolent piece of ſelf-denial, leſt the humble Pallas ſhould refuſe fifteen millions of ſeſterces! He refuſed, nevertheleſs, the offer the public made him of this immenſe ſum; the only thing he could poſſibly have done more arrogant than the accepting of it. Yet even this the ſenate applauded, and ſeem to lament in the following clauſe. *But whereas our excellent prince and father of his country has, at the inſtance of Pallas, expreſſed his deſire to have that part of the vote withdrawn, which relates to the giving him fifteen millions of ſeſterces out of the treaſury; the ſenate declares, that it was with much willingneſs and great juſtice they voted, among other honours, the ſaid intended ſum to Pallas, upon account of his fidelity and vigilance: however, in compliance with the emperor's deſire, which they think cannot without impiety be oppoſed in any inſtance, they obey it even in the preſent.* Figure to yourſelf Pallas entering his proteſt, as it were, againſt the decree of the ſenate; moderating the honours which were offered him, and refuſing, as ſomething much more valuable, the fifteen millions, when at the ſame time he accepted the Prætorian ornaments, as a preſent of an inferiour nature. Repreſent to yourſelf, Cæſar yielding to the intreaties of his freed-man in the face of the ſenate, or rather indeed, obeying his commands; for in the preſent inſtance, to *intreat* was

to *command!* Think of the ſenate declaring in every clauſe of this decree, that it was with great willingneſs and juſtice the houſe intended, among other honours, to preſent Pallas with this ſum; and that it would have inſiſted upon his acceptance, but in compliance with the will of the emperor, which it was impious in any point to oppoſe! Was it owing then only to the obſequiouſneſs of the ſenate, and the modeſty of Pallas, that he did not receive fifteen millions out of the treaſury? And was it in this inſtance, of all others, that they would have made an exception to their obedience, if they had thought it right to have done ſo in any? And now, after all this, you will imagine perhaps, that you are come to the end. Have patience however, there is ſtill ſomething more remarkable to follow: *And whereas it is highly expedient, that the generous diſpoſition of the emperor to approve and reward merit, ſhould be every where made known and celebrated, eſpecially in ſuch places where thoſe who have the care and adminiſtration of his affairs, may be excited to an imitation; and whereas the approved fidelity and integrity of Pallas may ſtimulate others to emulate ſo laudable an example—It is therefore reſolved, that the memorial which the emperor redde to the ſenate on the 28th of January laſt, together with the decree of the ſenate thereupon, ſhall be engraven*

in

in tablets of braſs, and hung up near the martial ſtatue of [c] *Julius Cæſar.* It was not, it ſeems, ſufficient that the ſenate alone ſhould be witneſs to this complicated diſgrace; but the moſt frequented place in all Rome was choſen, in order to diſplay it to the then preſent and future times: it was decreed, that all the honours of a moſt inſolent ſlave, both thoſe which he refuſed, and thoſe which (as much as in the authors of the decree lay) he had borne, ſhould be inſcribed in braſs: the Prætorian diſtinctions decreed to Pallas inſcribed, like ancient treaties or ſacred laws, upon public and everlaſting monuments of braſs! ſo great was their——I know not what epithet to give it——that the emperor choſe to diſplay his weakneſs, the ſenate their meanneſs, and Pallas his inſolence, in the face of all the world! The ſenate was not aſhamed to colour this turpitude with a ſhew of reaſon; and a noble one, in truth, it was, even *that others might be encouraged, by the rewards conferred upon Pallas, to a laudable emulation of his conduct!* Thus contemptible were all honours rendered, even thoſe which the *noble* Pallas did not diſdain to accept! And yet there were found perſons of rank and birth, ſo humble as to deſire and ſolicit thoſe very honours which they ſaw thus offered by ſlaves and conferred

[c] In the Forum.

upon a freed-man. Happy for me that I was not born in thoſe days, which I cannot help bluſhing for, as if I had actually lived in them! and I doubt not, they raiſe the ſame ſentiments in you. I know the honeſt feeling of your temper, and am perſuaded, that if I have been tranſported into a greater warmth of expreſſion than is ſuitable, perhaps, to a private letter, you will think I have ſhewn rather too little, than too much indignation. Farewel.

LETTER VII. *To* TACITUS.

WHEN you ſent me your treatiſe, it was not (as you were pleaſed to ſay yourſelf) as one maſter, or diſciple, would communicate his works to another, but with the condeſcenſion of a preceptor to his ſcholar; for in that relation I muſt conſider myſelf in reſpect to you. Accordingly you ſummon me to my ſtudies, whilſt I am a playing the truant and prolonging the Saturnalian [a] holidays.—Tell me now, could I have made you a more ſtiff and aukward compliment, or given a ſtronger proof, that I am ſo far from deſerving to be your inſtructor, that I am not even worthy to be your pupil? However, I will venture to aſſume the character you have inveſted me with, and exert the

[a] Vol. I. p. 113. not. [f].

the authority you have given me over your book: And with ſo much the more freedom, as I have nothing of my own to ſend you, upon which you may take your revenge. Farewel.

LETTER VIII. *To* ROMANUS.

HAVE you ever ſeen the ſource of the river [a] Clitumnus? As I never heard you mention it, I imagine not; let me therefore adviſe you to viſit it immediately. It is but lately indeed I had that pleaſure, and I condemn myſelf for not having viewed it ſooner. At the foot of a little hill, covered with venerable and ſhady cypreſs trees, a ſpring iſſues, which guſhing out in different and unequal ſtreams, forms itſelf, after ſeveral windings, into a ſpacious baſon, ſo extremely clear, that you may ſee the pebbles, and the little pieces of money which are [b] thrown into it, as they lie at the bottom.

[a] Now called *Clitumno:* it riſes a little below the village of Campello in Ombria. The inhabitants near this river ſtill retain a notion, that its waters are attended with a ſupernatural property, imagining it makes the cattle white that drink of it: a quality for which it is likewiſe celebrated by many of the Latin poets. See Addiſon's Travels.

[b] The heads of conſiderable rivers, hot ſprings, large bodies of ſtanding water, &c. were eſteemed holy among the Romans, and cultivated with religious ceremonies. *Magnorum fluminum* (ſays Seneca) *capita reveremur; ſubita & ex abdito vaſti amnis eruptio aras habet; coluntur aquarum calentium fontes, & ſtagna*

tom. From thence it is carried off not ſo much by the declivity of the ground, as by its own weight and exuberance. It is navigable almoſt as ſoon as it has quitted its ſource, and wide enough to admit a free paſſage for veſſels to paſs each other, as they ſail with or againſt the ſtream. The current runs ſo ſtrong, tho' the ground is level, that the large barges which go down the river have no occaſion to make uſe of their oars; while thoſe which aſcend, find it difficult to advance, even with the aſſiſtance of oars and poles: and this viciſſitude of labour and eaſe, is exceedingly amuſing when one ſails up and down merely for pleaſure. The banks on each ſide are ſhaded with great numbers of verdant aſh and poplar trees, as diſtinctly reflected in the ſtream, as if they were actually exiſting in it. The water is cold as ſnow, and as lucid too. Near it ſtands an ancient and venerable temple, wherein is placed a ſtatue repreſenting the river-god Clitumnus in his proper veſtment: and indeed the prophetic oracles here delivered, ſufficiently teſtify the immediate preſence of that divinity.

ſtagna quædam, vel opacitas, vel immenſa altitudo ſacravit. Ep. 41. It was cuſtomary to throw little pieces of money into thoſe fountains, lakes, &c. which had the reputation of being ſacred, as a mark of veneration for thoſe places, and to render the preſiding deities propitious. Suetonius mentions this practice, in the annual vows which he ſays the Roman people made for the health of Auguſtus. Suet. in vit. Aug.

divinity. Several little chapels are ſcattered round, dedicated to particular gods diſtinguiſhed by different names, and ſome of them too preſiding over different fountains. For, beſides the principal ſpring, which is, as it were, the parent of all the reſt, there are ſeveral ſmaller ſtreams, which, taking their riſe from various ſources, loſe themſelves in the river; over which a bridge is thrown, that ſeparates the ſacred part from that which lies open to common uſe. Veſſels are allowed to come above this bridge, but no perſon is permitted to ſwim, [c] except below it. The [d] Hiſpellates, to whom Auguſtus gave this place, furniſh a public bath, and likewiſe entertain all ſtrangers, at their own expence. Several villas, attracted by the beauty of this river, are ſituated upon its borders. In ſhort, every ſurrounding object will afford you entertainment. You may alſo amuſe yourſelf with numberleſs inſcriptions, fixed upon the pillars and walls by different perſons, celebrating the virtues of the fountain, and the divinity who preſides over it. There are many of them you will greatly admire, as there are ſome that will make you laugh; but I muſt correct myſelf when I ſay ſo; you are

[c] The touch of a naked body was thought to pollute theſe conſecrated waters, as appears from a paſſage in Tacitus, l. 14. Ann. c. 22.

[d] Inhabitants of a town in Ombria, now called Spello.

too humane, I know, to laugh upon ſuch an occaſion. Farewel.

LETTER IX. *To* URSUS.

IT is long ſince I have taken either a book, or a pen in my hand; ſince I have known the ſweets of leiſure and repoſe; ſince I have known, in ſhort, that indolent, but agreeable ſatisfaction of doing nothing, and being nothing: ſo much have the affairs of my friends engaged me, and prevented me from enjoying the pleaſures of retirement and contemplation. There is no ſort of philoſophical ſtudies, however, ſufficiently important to ſuperſede the offices of friendſhip; for, they are offices, which philoſophy herſelf teaches us moſt religiouſly to diſcharge. Farewel.

LETTER X. *To* FABATUS[a].

YOUR concern to hear of my wife's miſcarriage, will be equal, I know, to the earneſt deſire you have that we ſhould make you a great grand-father. The inexperience of her youth rendered her ignorant that ſhe was breeding; ſo that

[a] His wife's grandfather.

that ſhe not only neglected the proper precautions, but managed herſelf in a way extremely unſuitable to a perſon in her circumſtances. But ſhe has ſeverely atoned for her miſtake, by the utmoſt hazard of her life. Tho' you certainly will be afflicted to ſee yourſelf thus diſappointed in your advanced age, of the immediate hopes of leaving a family behind you; yet it deſerves your gratitude to the Gods, that in the preſervation of your grand-daughter, you have ſtill reaſon to expect that bleſſing: an expectation ſo much the more aſſured, as ſhe has given this proof, tho' an unhappy one indeed, of her being capable of bearing children. Theſe at leaſt, are the reflections by which I endeavour to confirm my own hopes, and conſole myſelf under my preſent diſappointment. You cannot more ardently deſire to have great-grand-children, than I to have children; as the dignity of both our families ſeems to open to them a ſure road to honours, and they will inherit the glory of deſcending from a long race of anceſtors, whoſe fame is as extenſive as their nobility is ancient. May we but have the pleaſure of ſeeing them born, it will make us amends for the preſent mortification! Farewel.

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LETTER XI. *To* HISPULLA[a].

WHEN I conſider that you love your niece even more fondly than if ſhe were your own daughter, I ought in the firſt place to inform you of her recovery, before I tell you ſhe has been ill; that the ſentiments of joy at the one, may leave you no leiſure to be afflicted at the other. Tho' I fear indeed, after your firſt tranſports of gratulation are over, you will feel ſome concern; and in the midſt of your joy for the danger ſhe has eſcaped, will tremble at the thought of that which ſhe has undergone. She is now, hwe ver, in good ſpirits, and again reſtored to herſelf and to me; and is recovering her ſtrength and health, as faſt as ſhe loſt them. To ſay the truth, (and I may now ſafely tell it you) her life was in the utmoſt danger; not indeed from any fault of her own, but a little from the inexperience of her youth. To this muſt be imputed the cauſe of her miſcarriage, and the ſad experience ſhe has had of the conſequence of not knowing ſhe was breeding. But tho' this misfortune has deprived you at preſent of a nephew, or a niece, to conſole you for the loſs of your brother; you ſhould reflect that it

[a] His wife's aunt.

it is a bleſſing which ſeems rather to be deferred than denied, ſince *her* life is preſerved from whom that happineſs is to be expected. I intreat you then to repreſent this accident to your [a] father in the moſt favourable light; as your ſex are the beſt advocates in caſes of this kind. Farewel.

LETTER XII. *To* MINUTIANUS.

I Beg you to excuſe me this one day: Titinius Capito is to recite a performance of his, and I know not whether it is moſt my inclination, or my duty to attend him. He is a man of a moſt amiable diſpoſition, and juſtly to be numbered among the brighteſt ornaments of the preſent age. He diligently cultivates the polite arts himſelf, and generouſly admires and encourages them in others; to many of whom he is the protector, the refuge, and the liberal patron; as he is to all of them a bright and exemplary model. In a word, he is the reſtorer and reformer of literature, now alas! well nigh ſinking into total neglect and decay. His houſe is open to every man of genius who has any works to rehearſe; and it is not *there* alone that he attends theſe aſſemblies with the moſt obliging good-

[a] Fabatus, grandfather to Calphurnia, Pliny's wife.

good-nature. I am ſure at leaſt he never once excuſed himſelf from mine, if he happened to be at Rome. I ſhould therefore with a more than ordinary ill grace refuſe to return him the ſame favour, eſpecially upon ſo honourable an occaſion. Should not I think myſelf obliged to a man, who, if I were engaged in any law-ſuit, generouſly attended the cauſe in which I was intereſted? And am I leſs indebted, now that my whole care and buſineſs is of the literary kind, for his aſſiduity in m yconcerns of this ſort; which, if not the only, is however the principal inſtance wherein I can be obliged? But tho' I owed him no return of this nature; tho' I were not engaged to him by the reciprocal tie of the ſame good offices he has done me; yet not only the powers of his extenſive genius, as elegantly poliſhed as it is ſeverely correct, but the dignity of his ſubject, would ſtrongly incite me to be of his audience. He has written an account of the deaths of ſeveral illuſtrious perſons, ſome of whom were my particular friends. It is a pious office then, it ſhould ſeem, as I could not be preſent at their obſequies, to attend, at leaſt, this (as I may call it) their funeral oration; which tho' a late, is however for that very reaſon, a more unſuſpected tribute to their memories. Farewel.

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LETTER XIII. *To* GENIALIS.

I Much approve of your having read my orations with your father. It is highly for your advantage to learn from a man of his eloquence, what to admire in compoſitions of this kind, and what to condemn; as you will at the ſame time be trained up in an habitual cuſtom of ſpeaking your real ſentiments. You ſee whoſe ſteps it is you ought to follow; and happy are you in having a living example before you, which is at once the neareſt and the nobleſt model you can purſue! In a word, that he whom nature deſigned you ſhould moſt reſemble, is, of all others, the perſon whom you ſhould moſt endeavour to imitate. Farewel.

LETTER XIV. *To* ARISTO.

AS you are no leſs acquainted with the political law of your country, (which includes the cuſtoms and uſages of the ſenate) than with the civil, I am particularly deſirous to have your opinion, whether I was miſtaken in an affair which lately came before the houſe. This I requeſt, not with a view of being directed in my judgement as to what is paſſed, (for that is now too late) but in order to know how

how to conduct myself, if any case of the same nature should hereafter happen to arise. You will ask, perhaps, why I apply to you for information concerning a point, wherein I ought to be well instructed? But the tyranny of [a] former reigns, as it introduced a neglect and ignorance of all other parts of useful knowledge, so particularly of what relates to the customs of the senate; for who is there so idly industrious as to endeavour to learn, what he never can have an opportunity of practising? Besides, it is not very easy to retain even the knowledge one has acquired, where no occasion of exercising it occurs. Hence it was, that Liberty, at her [b] return, found us totally ignorant and inexperienced in what relates to her interest; and thus, in our eagerness to taste her sweets, we are sometimes hurried on to action, ere we are well informed in what manner it is proper we should act. But it was wisely provided by the institution of our ancestors, that the young men should learn from the old, not only by precept, but by their own observation, how to behave in that sphere, wherein they were one day themselves to move; as these, in their turn, transmitted the same mode of instruction to their children. Upon this principle it was, that the

[a] Those of Nero and Domitian.

[b] When Nerva and Trajan received the empire.

the youth were ſent early into the army, that by being taught to obey, they might learn to command, and whilſt they followed others, might be trained by degrees to become leaders themſelves. And thus, when they were candidates for any office, they were obliged to ſtand at the entrance of the ſenate, that they might be ſpectators, before they were admitted parties in the public council of the empire. The father of each youth was his inſtructor upon theſe occaſions; or if he were dead, ſome perſon of years and dignity ſupplied the place of a father. Accordingly they were taught by that ſureſt method of diſcipline, Example, how far the right of propoſing any law to the ſenate extended; what privileges a ſenator had in delivering his opinion in the houſe; the power of the magiſtrates in that aſſembly, and the rights of the reſt of the members; where it is proper to yield, and where to inſiſt; when and how long to ſpeak, and when to be ſilent; how to diſtinguiſh and ſeperate complicated and inconſiſtent propoſitions [a], and how to improve upon another member's motion: in a word, they learnt by this means, whatever relates to the conduct

[a] If any opinion propoſed to the Senate, was thought too general, and to include ſeveral diſtinct articles, ſome of which might be approved, and others rejected, it was uſual to require that it might be divided: and this they ſometimes did by a general voice of the aſſembly, crying out, *divide, divide*, Middlet. Treat. on the Roman Senate, 137.

conduct of a ſenator in the houſe. As for myſelf, it is true, I ſerved in the army when I was a youth; but it was at a time when courage was ſuſpected, and want of ſpirit honoured; when generals were without authority, and ſoldiers without modeſty; when there were neither diſcipline nor obedience in the camp, but all was riot, diſorder, and confuſion; in ſhort, when it was happier to forget, than to remember what one learnt. I attended likewiſe in my youth the ſenate, but a ſenate that was mute and diſpirited; where it was dangerous to ſpeak one's ſentiments, and infamous to be ſilent. What ſatisfaction in learning, or indeed what could be learnt, when the ſenate ſate in the utmoſt indolence, or acted with the higheſt infamy! when they were convened either for cruel or ridiculous purpoſes[a]; and when their deliberations were never ſerious

[a] The fourth ſatire of Juvenal will ſerve as a comment upon this paſſage, where he acquaints us that a turbot of a moſt enormous ſize being preſented to Domitian, he immediately convened the ſenate, in order to conſult in what manner it ſhould be dreſſed. The poet mentions the names of the perſons who ſpoke in this remarkable debate, together with their ſeveral opinions upon a queſtion ſo important, concluding his ſatire with this pathetic wiſh:

Atque utinam his potius nugis tota illa dediſſet
Tempora ſævitiæ, claras quibus abſtulit urbi
Illuſtreſque animas impune!—— Sat. 4.

Ah! as this day, that he had ſpent the reſt,
And his dire reign had only been a jeſt!
Nor Rome her nobleſt blood had tamely ſeen
Flow unreveng'd!——

ſerious, tho' often ſad. But I was not only a witneſs to this ſcene of wretchedneſs, as a ſpectator; I bore my ſhare of it too as a ſenator, and both ſaw and ſuffered under it for many years; which ſo broke and damped my ſpirits, that they have not even yet been able fully to recover themſelves. It is but within a ſhort time (for all time ſeems ſhort in proportion to its happineſs) ſince we could take any pleaſure in knowing what relates to, or in exerciſing the duties of, our ſtation. Upon theſe conſiderations therefore, I may reaſonably entreat you, in the firſt place to pardon my errour, (if I have committed one) and in the next, to lead me out of it by your ſuperiour knowledge: for, I am ſenſible you have ever been diligent to inquire into the conſtitution of our country, both with reſpect to its public and private, its ancient and modern, its general and particular laws. I am perſuaded indeed the point upon which I am going to conſult you, is ſo ſingular, that even thoſe whoſe great experience in public buſineſs, muſt have made them, one ſhould ſuppoſe, acquainted with every thing of this nature, were either doubtful or abſolutely ignorant in what manner to proceed. I ſhall be the more excuſable, therefore, if I happen to have been miſtaken; as you will gain ſo much the higher praiſe, if you can

ſet me right in an affair, which it is not clear has ever yet fallen within your obſervation. The enquiry then before the houſe was, concerning the death of Afranius Dexter, who being found murdered, it was uncertain whether he fell by his own hands, or by thoſe of his freedmen; and if the latter, whether they committed the fact in [b] obedience to the commands of Afranius, or were prompted to it by their own villainy. After they had been put to the torture, a certain ſenator (it is of no importance to mention his name, but if you are deſirous to know, it was myſelf) was for acquitting them; another propoſed that they ſhould be baniſhed; and a third that they ſhould ſuffer death. Theſe ſeveral opinions were ſo extremely different, that it was impoſſible either of them could ſtand with the other; and therefore in taking the votes, I thought they ought to be numbered ſeparately. For, what is there in common between the opinion of thoſe who deemed the accuſed deſerved baniſhment, and thoſe who were of opinion they merited death? certainly nothing more, than between thoſe who voted

[b] Thoſe who deſtroyed themſelves, frequently made uſe of the hands of their ſlaves for that purpoſe. Thus Brutus and Caſſius, after the loſs of that fatal battle which decided the liberties of Rome, ran each of them upon the ſwords of their ſlaves. Florus, l. 4. c. 7.

voted for baniſhment, and the others who were for acquitting the priſoners. Tho' indeed he who was for diſcharging them, approached nearer to the ſentiments of him who propoſed exile, than the other who moved that they ſhould ſuffer death: for both the former agreed at leaſt in this, that their lives ſhould be ſpared, whereas the latter were for a capital conviction. In the mean while, thoſe ſenators who were for puniſhing with death, and thoſe who propoſed baniſhment, ſate together on the ſame ſide of the houſe: and thus by a preſent appearance of union, covered their real diſagreement. I moved therefore, that each of the three opinions ſhould be ſeparately voted, and that two of them ſhould not, under favour of a ſhort truce between themſelves, join againſt the third. I inſiſted that ſuch of the members who were for capital puniſhment ſhould divide from the others who voted for baniſhment; and that theſe two diſtinct parties ſhould not be permitted to form themſelves into a body, in oppoſition to thoſe who declared for acquittal, when they would immediately after diſunite again: for it was not material that they agreed in diſliking one of the propoſals, ſince they differed with reſpect to the other two. It ſeemed very extraordinary, that he who moved that the freedmen ſhould be baniſhed, and the ſlaves ſuffer

death, ſhould not be allowed to join theſe two motions in one, but that the queſtion ſhould be ordered to be put to the houſe in the disjunctive; and yet that the votes of thoſe who were for inflicting capital puniſhment upon the freedmen, ſhould be taken in conjunction with thoſe who were for baniſhing them. For, if in the former inſtance, it was reaſonable that the motion ſhould be divided, becauſe it comprehended two diſtinct propoſitions; I could not ſee why in the latter caſe, ſuffrages ſo extremely different ſhould be thrown into the ſame ſcale. Permit me then, notwithſtanding the point is already determined, to go over it again as if it were ſtill undecided, and to lay before you thoſe reaſons at my eaſe, which I offered to the houſe in the midſt of much interruption and clamour. Let us ſuppoſe there had been only three judges appointed to hear this cauſe, one of which was of opinion that the parties in queſtion deſerved death; the other that they ſhould only be baniſhed; and the third that they ought to be acquitted: ſhould the two former unite their weight to overpower the latter, or ſhould each be ſeparately balanced? For, the firſt and ſecond are no more compatible with each other than the ſecond and third. They ought therefore to be counted in the ſenate as contrary opinions, ſince they were

delivered as different ones. Suppoſe the ſame perſon had moved, that they ſhould both have been baniſhed and put to death; could they poſſibly, in purſuance of this opinion, have ſuffered both puniſhments? Or could it have been eſteemed as one conſiſtent motion, when it united two ſuch different deciſions? Why then ſhould the ſame opinion, when delivered by diſtinct perſons, be conſidered as one and entire, which would not be deemed ſo if propoſed by a ſingle man? Does not the law manifeſtly imply, that a diſtinction is to be made between thoſe who are for a capital conviction, and thoſe who are for baniſhment in the very form of words made uſe of when the houſe is ordered to divide? *You who are of ſuch an opinion, come to this ſide; you who are of any other go over to the ſide of him whoſe opinion you follow.* Let us examine this form, and weigh every ſentence: *You who are of this opinion:* that is, for inſtance, you who are for baniſhment, *come on this ſide*; namely, on the ſide of him who moved for baniſhment. From whence it is clear he cannot remain on the ſide of thoſe who are for death. *You who are for any other:* obſerve, the law is not contented with barely ſaying *another*, but it adds *any*. Now can there be a doubt, whether they who declare

for a capital conviction are of *any* other opinion, than thoſe who propoſe exile! *Go over to the ſide of him whoſe opinion you follow:* does not the law ſeem, as it were, to force thoſe who are of different ſentiments to contrary ſides? Does not the Conſul himſelf point out, not only by this ſolemn form of words, but by his hand and geſture, the place in which every man is to remain, or to which he is to go over? "But, it is objected, if "this ſeparation be made between thoſe who vote "for inflicting death, and thoſe who are on the "ſide of exile, the opinion for acquitting the "priſoners muſt neceſſarily prevail." But how does that affect the parties who vote? Certainly it becomes not them to contend by every art, and urge every expedient, that the milder ſentence may not take place. "Still, ſay they, thoſe who "are for condemning the accuſed, either capitally "or to baniſhment, ſhould firſt be ſet in oppoſi-"tion to thoſe who are for abſolving them, and "afterwards weighed againſt each other." Thus as in certain public games, ſome are by lot to engage with the conqueror; ſo, it ſeems, in the ſenate, there is a firſt and ſecond combat, and of two different ſentiments, the prevailing one has ſtill a third to contend with. What? when any particular opinion is received, do not all the reſt fall of courſe?

courſe? Is it reaſonable then, that one ſhould be thrown into the ſcale merely to weigh down another? To expreſs my meaning more plainly: unleſs the two parties, who are reſpectively for capital puniſhment and exile, immediately ſeparate upon the firſt diviſion of the houſe, it would be to no purpoſe afterwards to diſſent from thoſe with whom they had joined before.—But I am dictating inſtead of receiving inſtruction.—Tell me then whether you think theſe votes ſhould have been taken ſeparately? My ſentiments, 'tis true, prevailed; nevertheleſs I am deſirous to know whether you think I ought to have inſiſted upon this point, or have yielded, as that member did who declared for capital puniſhment? For, convinced, I will not ſay of the legality, but at leaſt of the equity of my propoſal, he receded from his own opinion, and went over to the party for exile; fearing, perhaps, if the votes were taken ſeparately (which he ſaw would be the caſe) the freedmen would be acquitted: For, the numbers were far greater on that ſide than on either of the other two, ſeparately counted. The conſequence was, that thoſe who had been influenced by his authority, when they ſaw themſelves forſaken by his going over to the other party, gave up a motion which they found abandoned by the firſt propoſer, and deſerted, if I may ſo expreſs it, with their leader. Thus the three opinions

terminated at length in two: and of thoſe, one prevailed, and the other was rejected; while the third, as it was not powerful enough to conquer both the others, had only to chooſe to which of the two it would yield. Farewel.

LETTER XV. *To* JUNIOR.

I FEAR I have over-loaded you by ſending ſo many volumes at once; but if I have, remember it was your own requeſt. Beſides, as you wrote me word you were likely to reap but little from the fruits of your vineyards, I imagined you would be at leiſure to *reap* (as we ſay) the *fruits* of learning. I have received the ſame bad accounts of my own farms; and am therefore at leiſure to compoſe tracts for you, provided I can but raiſe money ſufficient to furniſh me with good parchment. For ſhould I be reduced to uſe the coarſe and ſpongy ſort, I muſt either not write at all, or whatever I compoſe, whether good or bad, muſt neceſſarily undergo one general blot! Farewel.

LETTER XVI. *To* PATERNUS.

THE ſickneſs which has lately run thro' my family, and carried off ſeveral of my domeſtics, ſome of them too in the prime of their years, has deeply afflicted me. I have two conſolations, however, which tho' they are not adequate to ſo conſiderable a loſs, ſtill they are conſolations. One is, that as I have always very readily manumized my ſlaves, their death does not ſeem altogether immature, if they lived long enough to receive their freedom: the other, that I have allowed them to make a kind of will, [a] which I obſerve as religiouſly as if they were legally entitled to that privilege. I receive and obey their laſt requeſts, as ſo many abſolute commands, ſuffering them to diſpoſe of their effects to whom they pleaſe; with this ſingle reſtriction, that they leave them to ſome of the family: which to perſons in their ſtation is to be conſidered as a ſort of commonwealth. But tho' I endeavour to acquieſce under theſe reflections, yet the ſame tenderneſs which led me to ſhew them theſe indulgences, ſtill breaks out and renders me too ſenſibly affected by their deaths.

However,

[a] A ſlave could acquire no property, and conſequently was incapable by law of making a will.

However, I would not wiſh to be incapable of theſe tender impreſſions of humanity; tho' the generality of the world, I know, look upon loſſes of this kind in no other view, than as a dimunition of their property, and fancy by cheriſhing ſuch an unfeeling temper, they diſcover ſuperiour fortitude and philoſophy. Their fortitude and philoſophy, I will not diſpute, but humane, I am ſure they are not; for it is the very criterion of true manhood to *feel* thoſe impreſſions of ſorrow, which it endeavours to reſiſt; and to admit, not to be above the want of, conſolation. But perhaps I have detained you too long upon this ſubject,—tho' not ſo long as I would. There is a certain pleaſure in giving vent to one's grief; eſpecially when we pour out our ſorrow in the boſom of a friend, who will approve, or, at leaſt, pardon our tears. [a] Farewel.

LET-

[a] There is ſomething ſo uncommonly amiable in this *Family Piece*, that the reader cannot be diſpleaſed with being ſtopped a moment to take a ſecond view of it. If nothing remained of Pliny, but this ſingle *Trait* of his character, we might nevertheleſs aſſuredly pronounce of him, that he was ennobled by every ſocial virtue: for as it is certain the greateſt minds have ever been moſt open to impreſſions of the humane kind; ſo every moral virtue neceſſarily flows from benevolence as from its true and genuine ſource. It is impoſſible that a man who has a juſt feeling of the calamities of others, can deliberately break thro' the moral ties of any kind; becauſe it is certain he cannot do ſo, without being the occaſion of ſuffering to thoſe who ſtand within the influence of the particular action. This

LETTER XVII. *To* MACRINUS.

IS the ſeaſon with you as rude and boiſterous as it is with us? All here is tempeſt and inundation. The Tiber has ſwelled its channel, and overflowed its banks far and wide. Tho' the wiſe precaution of the emperor had guarded againſt this evil, by cutting ſeveral outlets to the river; it has nevertheleſs flooded all the fields and vallies, and entirely overſpread the whole face of the flat country. It ſeems to have gone out to meet thoſe rivers which it uſed to receive and carry off in one united

principle alſo will ever afford the moſt unerring teſt of patriotiſm, or the public affections; for the cruel and unrelenting in private and domeſtic life, can never act upon the true notion of liberty, in the more enlarged relations of public concerns. With great juſtice therefore, our author makes this generous principle the evidence of real manhood; as Juvenal deſcribes a tenderneſs of diſpoſition to be the principal note of diſtinction, which nature has marked out between the rational and brute creation;

——————Molliſſima corda
Humano generi dare ſe natura fatetur,
Quæ lachrymas dedit. Hæc noſtri pars optima ſenſus.
——————Quis enim bonus,—
Ulla aliena ſibi credat mala? ſeparat hoc
Nos a grege mutorum—————— Satyr. 15. 131.

Heaven gave the tear humane, a ſign confeſt,
Soft pity dwells within the mortal breaſt;
That nobleſt paſſion nobleſt boſoms know!——
Turn'd ever virtue from another's woe?
'Tis man's great privilege, the glorious line
That marks from brute, the human ſoul divine.

united ſtream; and has driven them back to deluge thoſe countries, it could not itſelf reach. That moſt delightful of rivers, the [b] Anio, which ſeems invited and detained in its courſe by the charming villas that are ſituated upon its banks, has almoſt entirely rooted up and carried away the woods which ſhaded its borders. It has overthrown whole mountains, and in endeavouring to find a paſſage thro' the ruins that obſtructed its way, has forced down houſes, and riſen over the deſolation it has occaſioned. The inhabitants of the hill countries, who are ſituated above the reach of this inundation, have been the melancholy ſpectators of its dreadful effects; having ſeen coſtly furniture, inſtruments of huſbandry, ploughs, and oxen with their drivers, whole herds of cattle, together with the trunks of trees, and beams of the neighbouring villas, floating about in different parts.

[b] Now called the *Teverone*, which falls into the Tiber about three miles from *Rome*. The eloquent Balzac, ſpeaking of a little river, has a thought which is celebrated by Bohours:* *Cette belle eau* (ſays he) *aime tellement ce pais, qu'elle ſe diviſe en mille branches, & fait une infinité d'iſles & de tours, a fin de s'y amuſer davantage.* But he is indebted to Pliny for all the merit of it, as it is plainly a copy from this paſſage: an obſervation by no means intended as a reflection upon the French writer, who has too many original beauties of his own to ſuffer from a diſcovery of thoſe which are not: it is deſigned only to ſhew, that the moſt celebrated author in the epiſtolary way among the moderns, found advantage in converſing with Pliny.

* *Did. ſur la man. de bien penſ. p.* 137.

parts. Nor indeed have theſe more elevated places themſelves, to which the waters could not riſe, eſcaped the calamity. A continued heavy rain, as deſtructive as the river itſelf, poured down in torrents upon them, and has deſtroyed all the enclo-ſures which marked that fertile country. It has damaged likewiſe, and even overturned ſome of the public buildings, where numbers have been miſerably buried in the ruins. And thus thoſe people, beſides the loſs of their effects, have ſuffered the additional misfortune of lamenting their friends. I am extremely uneaſy, leſt this extenſive ruin ſhould have ſpread to you: I beg therefore, if it have not, you will immediately eaſe me of my fears. And indeed, I deſire you would inform me tho' it actually ſhould; for the difference is not great between fearing a danger, and feeling it; except that the evil one feels has ſome bounds, whereas one's apprehenſions have none. For, we can ſuffer no more than what actually *has* happened, but we fear all that poſſibly *may* have happened. Farewel.

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LETTER XVIII. *To* RUFINUS.

IT is a miſtaken maxim too generally advanced, that a man's will is a kind of mirrour wherein one may clearly diſcern his genuine character. We have a late inſtance to the contrary in Domitius Tullus, who appears a much better man ſince his death, than during his life. After having artfully encouraged the expectations of thoſe who paid court to him, with a view to be his heir, he has left his eſtate to his neice whom he adopted. He has given likewiſe ſeveral very conſiderable legacies among his grand-children, and alſo to his great-grand-ſon. In a word, he has ſhewn himſelf a kind relation throughout his whole will; which is ſo much the more to be admired, as it was not expected. This affair has been much the ſubject of converſation; ſome repreſenting him as guilty of the baſeſt falſhood and ingratitude; and while they thus complain as if they were actually his diſinherited kindred, their invectives betray the mean motives of the attentions they paid him: others, on the contrary, applauding him extremely for having diſappointed the hopes of this infamous[a] tribe of men, whom, the manners of the age conſidered, it is but prudence to deceive. They add, that

[a] See Vol. I. p. 219. note [2].

that he was not at liberty to make any other will, and that he cannot ſo properly be ſaid to have bequeathed, as returned, his eſtate to his adopted daughter, ſince it was by her means he became poſſeſſed of it. For, Curtilius Mancia, whoſe daughter Domitius Lucanus, brother to this Tullus, married, having taken a diſlike to his ſon-in-law, deviſed his eſtate to this young lady, (who was the iſſue of that marriage) upon condition that Lucanus her father would [a] emancipate her. He accordingly did ſo, but ſhe being afterwards adopted by Tullus her uncle, the deſign of Mancia's will was entirely fruſtrated. For, theſe two brothers having never divided their patrimony, but living together as joint-tenants of one common eſtate, the daughter of Lucanus, notwithſtanding the act of emancipation, returned back again, together with her fortune, under the

[a] That is, would make her free; for (as has been obſerved in the notes above) the power of a father over his children, was unlimited amongſt the Romans. It extended not only to their fortunes, but their lives, and was even greater than what the laws allowed over their ſlaves; for if a maſter ſold his ſlave, who afterwards obtained his freedom, the former owner had no farther claim; whereas, in the caſe of a ſon, the father's right was not abſolutely extinguiſhed by the ſale, but if the ſon obtained his freedom, he again came under his dominion. This authority could not be wholly diſannulled, till the ſon had been thrice ſold, and as often recovered his liberty; it then entirely ceaſed. The law veſted the ſame power likewiſe as fully in the adoptive father, as in the natural. Juſtinian obſerves, this authority was peculiar to the Romans, and allowed by no other nation whatſoever. Inſt. l. 1.

the dominion of her father, in conſequence of this fraudulent adoption. It ſeems indeed, to have been the fate of theſe two brothers, to be enriched by thoſe who had the greateſt averſion to them. For, Domitius Afer, by whom they were adopted, left a will in their favour, which he had made eighteen years before his death; tho' it was plain he had altered his ſentiments with reſpect to the family, becauſe he was inſtrumental in procuring the confiſcation of their father's eſtate. There is ſomething extremely ſingular in the reſentment of Afer, and the good fortune of the other two; as it was very extraordinary, on the one hand, that Domitius ſhould endeavour to proſcribe the man whoſe children he had adopted, and on the other, that theſe brothers ſhould find a parent in the very perſon that ruined their father. But Tullus acted juſtly, after having been appointed ſole heir by his brother, in prejudice to his own daughter, to reſtore to her this eſtate which came to him from Afer, as well as to deviſe to her all the fortune which he poſſeſſed in common with his brother. His will therefore deſerves the higheſt commendation, as it is the dictates of nature, juſtice, and honour; having thereby returned his obligations to his ſeveral relations, according to their reſpective good offices towards him. He has made an equitable acknowledgment likewiſe to his wife, having

ing by his will given to that excellent woman, who patiently endured much upon his account, ſeveral delightful villas, beſides a large ſum of money. Indeed, ſhe deſerved ſo much the more at his hands, as ſhe was greatly cenſured for her marriage with him. It was thought unworthy a perſon of her rank and merit, after having had a former huſband by whom ſhe had iſſue, to marry, in the decline of her life, an old man, merely for his wealth, and who was ſo ſickly and infirm, that even had he paſſed the beſt years of his youth and health with her, ſhe might well have been diſguſted with him. He had ſo entirely loſt the uſe of all his limbs, that he could not move himſelf in bed without aſſiſtance; and the only enjoyment he had of his riches, was to contemplate them. He was even reduced to the wretched neceſſity (and one cannot mention it without loathing as well as pity) of having his teeth waſhed and cleanſed by others: in alluſion to which he uſed frequently to ſay, when he was complaining of the indecencies, which his infirmities obliged him to ſuffer, that he was every day compelled to lick his ſervant's fingers. Still, however, he lived on, and was willing to accept of life upon theſe miſerable terms. That he lived ſo long, was particularly owing indeed to the care of his wife, who, whatever reputation ſhe might loſe at firſt by

her marriage, acquired great honour by her conduct towards him during its continuance.

Thus I have given you all the news of the town, where nothing is talked of but Tullus. It is expected his curioſities will ſhortly be ſold by auction. He had ſuch an abundant collection of antient ſtatues, that he actually filled an extenſive garden with them, the very ſame day he purchaſed it; not to mention numberleſs other antiques which ſtood neglected in a lumber-room.

Now, if you have any thing worth communicating in return, I hope you will not refuſe the trouble of giving me the intelligence; not only as we are all of us naturally fond, you know, of news, but becauſe intereſting anecdotes afford examples which may be of uſe in reſpect to our own conduct. Farewel.

LETTER XIX. *To* MAXIMUS.

MY ſtudies prove both an entertainment and conſolation to me; and as there is no pleaſure I prefer to them, ſo there is no uneaſineſs they do not alleviate. In this ſeaſon therefore of dejection, occaſioned by the indiſpoſition of my wife, the dangerous ſickneſs of ſome of my ſervants, and the death of others, I have recourſe to my books, as to the ſovereign conſolers of my ſorrows. It is true, indeed, they teach me a greater ſenſibility to misfortunes, but they teach me too how to

bear them with more patience. It is an eſtabliſhed rule with me, before I publiſh any of my productions, to conſult the judgement of my friends, and eſpecially yours. I requeſt you, therefore, to examine with particular care, the performance I here ſend you, as I am afraid, the diſquietude of my mind may have prevented me from giving it the attention I ought. For, though I could command my grief ſo far as to ſit down to write, I was not ſufficiently maſter of my heart to do ſo with eaſe and chearfulneſs: but if ſtudy naturally tends to compoſe the mind; the mind muſt be previouſly in a compoſed ſtate to give a proper effect to our ſtudies. Farewel.

LETTER XX. *To* GALLUS.

THOSE works of art or nature which are uſually the motives of our travels, are often overlooked and neglected if they happen to lie within our reach; whether it be that we are naturally leſs inquiſitive concerning thoſe things which are near us, while our curioſity is excited by remote objects; or becauſe the eaſineſs of gratifying a deſire, is always ſure to damp it; or, perhaps, that we defer from time to time viewing, what we know we have an opportunity of ſeeing whenever we pleaſe. Be the reaſon what it may, it is certain there are ſeveral rarities in and near

Rome, which we not only have never ſeen, but have never ſo much as heard of; and yet if they had been the production of Greece, or Egypt, or Aſia, or any other country which we admire as fruitful in wonders, they would long ſince have been the ſubjects both of our reading, converſation, and inſpection. For myſelf at leaſt, I confeſs, I have lately been entertained with a ſight of one of theſe our indigenous ſingularities, to which I was an entire ſtranger before. My wife's grandfather deſired I would look upon his eſtate near [a] Ameria. As I was walking over his grounds, I was ſhewn a lake that lies below them, called [b] Vadimon, which I was informed had ſeveral very extraordinary qualities attending it. This raiſed my curioſity to take a nearer view. Its form is exactly circular; there is not the leaſt obliquity or winding, but all is regular and even, as if it had been hollowed and cut out by the hand of art. The water is of a clear ſky-blue, tho' with ſomewhat of a greeniſh caſt; it ſeems by its taſte and ſmell impregnated with ſulphur, and is deemed of great efficacy in all fractures of the limbs, which it is ſuppoſed to conſolidate. Notwithſtanding it is but of a moderate extent, yet the winds have a great effect upon it, frequently throwing it into violent commotions.

[a] Now called Amelia, an epiſcopal city in Ombria.
[b] Now called *Lago di Baſſanello*.

commotions. No veſſels are ſuffered to ſail here, as its waters are held [c] ſacred; but ſeveral floating [d] iſlands ſwim about in it, covered with reeds and ruſhes, together with other plants which the neighbouring marſh and the borders of the lake produce. Theſe iſlands differ in their ſize and ſhape; but the edges of all of them are worn away by their frequent colliſion againſt the ſhore and each other. They have all of them the ſame height and motion; and their reſpective roots, which are formed like the keel of a boat, may be ſeen hanging down in the water, on which-ever ſide you ſtand. Sometimes they move in a cluſter, and ſeem to form one entire little continent; ſometimes they are diſperſed into different quarters by the winds; at other times when it is calm, they float up and down ſeparately. You may frequently ſee one of the larger iſlands ſailing along with a leſſer joined to it, like a ſhip with its long-boat; or perhaps, ſeeming to ſtrive which ſhall out-ſwim the other: then again they all aſſemble in one ſtation, and afterwards

[c] See above, note [b] Let. 8. of this book.

[d] The credit of this account does not reſt entirely upon our author: Pliny the elder mentions theſe floating iſlands, [l. 2. 95.] and ſo does Seneca, who accounts for them upon philoſophical principles. [Q. N. l. 3. 25.] Varenius ſays, that in Honduras, a province in America, there is a lake in which are ſeveral little hills planted with ſhrubs, &c. toſſed up and down by the winds. And he quotes Boethius the Scots hiſtorian, who affirms, that in a large *Loch*, called *Lomond Loch*, in Scotland, there is a floating iſland, upon which cattle graze. See Varen. Geogr. vol. I. p. 412.

wards joining themſelves to the ſhore, ſometimes on one ſide and ſometimes on the other, cauſe the lake to appear conſiderably leſs, 'till at laſt uniting in the centre they reſtore it to its uſual ſize. The ſheep which graze upon the borders of this lake, frequently go upon theſe iſlands to feed, without perceiving that they have left the ſhore, 'till they are alarmed by finding themſelves ſurrounded with water; and in the ſame manner when the wind drives them back again, they return without being ſenſible that they are landed. This lake empties itſelf into a river, which after running a little way ſinks under ground; and if any thing is thrown in brings it up again where the ſtream emerges.— I have given you this account, becauſe I imagined it would not be leſs new, nor leſs agreeable to you than it was to me; as I know you take the ſame pleaſure as myſelf, in contemplating the works of nature. Farewel.

LETTER XXI. *To* ARRIANUS.

NOTHING, in my opinion, gives a more amiable and becoming grace to our ſtudies as well as manners, than to temper the ſerious with the gay, leſt the former ſhould degenerate into auſtereneſs, and the latter run up into levity. Upon this maxim it is, that I diverſify my graver works with compoſitions of a lighter nature. I had choſen a convenient place and ſeaſon for ſome productions of that ſort to make their appearance in; and deſigning to accuſtom them early to the tables of the idle, I fixed upon the month of July *,

* The months of July and Auguſt was a time of vacation to the Roman lawyers, the courts of juſtice being then ſhut up, that the farmers might not be interrupted in their harveſt, by being obliged to attend their law-ſuits at Rome.

——————— *meſſeſque reverſæ*
Dimiſere Forum; nec jam tibi turba reorum
Veſtibulo, querulique rogant exire clientes;
Ceſſat centeni moderatrix judicis haſta.
Statius Syl. l. 4. 50.

Returning harveſt bids contention ceaſe,
And through the wrangling Forum all is peace;
No teazing clients now beſiege thy way,
Nor judges ſage the ſolemn ſpear diſplay.

Nevertheleſs the courts, as appears from this letter, were ſometimes opened during this ſeaſon of vacation, upon caſes, perhaps, of particular emergency.

which is uſually a time of vacation to the courts of juſtice, in order to read them to ſome of my friends at ſupper: and accordingly I placed a deſk before each couch[a]. But as I happened that morning to be unexpectedly called away to attend a cauſe, I took occaſion to preface my recital with an apology. I intreated my audience not to impute it to me as any want of due regard for the buſineſs to which I had invited them, that on the very day I had appointed to read my performances to ſome of my friends, (tho' indeed but few) I did not refuſe my good offices to others in their law-affairs. I aſſured them, I would obſerve the ſame rule in my writings, and ſhould always give the preference to matters of importance, before thoſe of entertainment; to ſerious engagements, before amuſing ones; and to the buſineſs of my friends, before my own. The poems I recited conſiſted of a variety of ſubjects in different meaſures. It is by ſuch arts as theſe, we who dare not rely upon the ſingle force of our genius, endeavour to avoid ſatiating our readers. In compliance with the earneſt ſolicitation of my audience, I recited during two days ſucceſſively; but not in the manner that ſeveral practiſe, by making a merit of paſſing over the leſs ſhining paſſages; on the contrary,

[a] The ancient Romans lay extended upon couches during their ſuppers, which were always in the evening, that time being the general hour of their principal meal.

contrary, I omitted nothing, and freely confeſſed it. I redde the whole, that I might correct the whole; which it is impoſſible thoſe who only ſelect particular paſſages, ſhould do. The latter method indeed, may have more the appearance of modeſty, and perhaps reſpect; but the former ſhews a greater ingenuouſneſs, as well as a more affectionate diſpoſition towards the audience. For, the belief that a man's friends have ſo much regard to him, as not to be weary upon theſe occaſions, is a ſure indication of the love he bears them. To ſay the truth, one has little obligation to an audience, if they aſſemble merely with a view to their own entertainment. He who had rather find his friend's performance correct, than make it ſo, is to be conſidered as a ſtranger, or one who is too indolent to give himſelf any trouble. Your friendſhip for me leaves me no room to doubt that you are impatient to read my book, even in its preſent very imperfect ſtate; and ſo you ſhall, but not till I have made thoſe corrections which were the principal inducement of my recital. You are already acquainted with ſome parts of it; but even thoſe, after they ſhall have been poliſhed (or perhaps ſpoiled, as is ſometimes the caſe by too frequent reviſals) will ſeem new to you. For when a compoſition has undergone various changes, it acquires

acquires an air of novelty even in thoſe very parts which remain unaltered. Farewel.

LETTER XXII. *To* GEMINITUS.

HAVE you never obſerved a ſort of people, who tho' they are themſelves the abject ſlaves of every vice, ſhew a kind of malicious indignation againſt the immoral conduct of others; and are moſt ſevere to thoſe whom they moſt reſemble? yet, ſurely a lenity of diſpoſition, even in perſons who have the leaſt occaſion for clemency themſelves, is of all virtues the moſt becoming. The higheſt of characters, in my eſtimation, is *His*, who is as ready to pardon the moral errors of mankind, as if he were every day guilty of ſome himſelf; and at the ſame time as cautious of committing a fault, as if he never forgave one. It is a rule then which we ſhould upon all occaſions, both private and public, moſt religiouſly obſerve, "to be inexorable to our own failings, "while we treat thoſe of the reſt of the world "with tenderneſs, not excepting even thoſe who "forgive none but themſelves;" remembering always what the humane, and, *therefore*, as well as upon other accounts, the *great* Thraſea uſed frequently

quently to ſay: [a] *He who hates vice, hates mankind.* You will aſk me, perhaps, who it is that has given occaſion to theſe reflections? You muſt know a certain perſon lately—but of that when we meet—tho', upon ſecond thoughts, not even *then*, leſt whilſt I condemn and expoſe *his* conduct, I ſhould act counter to that maxim I particularly recommend. Whoever therefore, and whatever he is, ſhall remain in ſilence: for, tho' there may be ſome uſe, perhaps, in ſetting a mark upon the man, for the ſake of example; there will be more, however, in ſparing him, for the ſake of humanity. Farewel.

LETTER XXIII. *To* MARCELLINUS.

THE deep concern I am under for the death of Junius Avitus, has rendered me incapable either of buſineſs, ſtudy or amuſement. He was inveſted with the [b] laticlave in my houſe; as in all the

[a] The meaning of this maxim ſeems to be, that, as it is extremely difficult to ſeparate the action from the man, we ſhould not ſuffer the errors of the world to raiſe in us that acrimony of indignation, which if well examined, perhaps, will be oftener found to proceed from ſome ſecret principle of malice, than a juſt abhorrence of vice; *Satius eſt* (as Seneca obſerves) *publicos mores & humana vitia, placide accipere*: a general philanthropy and univerſal benevolence being the moſt genuine marks, by which virtue diſtinguiſhes thoſe who are truly in her intereſt. If this ſenſe be admitted, there is no need to ſuppoſe (with ſome of the commentators) that any miſtake has crept in to the text.

[b] See vol. i. p. 82. note [a].

the honours he ſolicited, he was conſtantly aſſiſted by my intereſt. I will add too, his affection and eſteem for me were ſo great, that he formed his manners, and regulated his conduct by my guidance and direction: a diſpoſition extremely uncommon in the youth of this age; for, who among them will now deign to ſubmit to the experience and authority of their ſuperiours? They think themſelves at once in full poſſeſſion of all wiſdom and knowledge; and without revering or imitating the virtues of any, imagine they are a ſufficient example to themſelves. But Avitus was of a far different turn; he ſhewed his wiſdom, in believing there were ſome who had more; and diſcovered his knowledge, in his deſire to learn. He was ever conſulting his friends upon ſome point relating to his ſtudies, or his conduct; and he always returned from them with advantage, either by the advice he received, or the diſpoſition he ſhewed. With what reſpect did he treat Servianus, one of the moſt accompliſhed men of the age! Avitus knew how to value ſuch uncommon merit, as well as to endear himſelf to him in his turn. Accordingly, when Servianus went lieutenant from Germany into [a] Pannonia, he attended him as Tribune; not ſo much in the character of his fellow-ſoldier, as of his friend and admirer.

[a] A very extenſive province, comprehending part of Auſtria, Hungary, &c.

admirer. With what care and integrity did he execute the office of Quæſtor under ſeveral conſuls, who all eſteemed him, not only as an uſeful and experienced officer, but as an eaſy and agreeable companion! With what zeal and application did he ſolicit this very [b] Ædileſhip, from the enjoyment of which he is now prematurely ſnatched! a reflection that gives a peculiar poignancy to my affliction for the loſs of him. His unavailing labours, his fruitleſs aſſiduities, and the honour which he merited only, not enjoyed, are for ever in my thoughts. The circumſtance of his having firſt put on the laticlave under my roof; the firſt and the laſt ſuffrage I ever gave him; the converſations we have had, and the conſultations we have held, all return freſh upon my mind. I am ſtruck with the moſt tender ſorrow when I conſider his youth, and reflect upon the irreparable loſs his family has ſuſtained: an aged parent; a young wife to whom he had not been married much above a year; an infant daughter juſt born; ſo many pleaſing hopes,

ſo

[b] The Ædiles were at firſt two officers choſen out of the body of the commons, in order to aſſiſt the Tribunes in the diſcharge of ſome particular parts of their functions, the chief of which was the care of public edifices. Others were afterwards elected out of the nobility, to inſpect public games, determine cauſes relating to the ſelling or exchanging of eſtates, to ſuperviſe the public ſtores of corn, and other proviſions, &c. Ken. Antiq. p. 116, 117.

ſo many tender joys, all reverſed and deſtroyed in one day! When he was juſt elected Ædile; when he had lately commenced a bridegroom; when he was newly made a father, he was ſuddenly ſnatched from the midſt of theſe ſatisfactions; and has left behind him an honour untaſted, a mother inconſolable, a widowed wife, and an orphan infant, who will have the misfortune of never having known her father! But what increaſes my tears upon this melancholy occaſion is, that being abſent when this accident happened, I never knew of his ſickneſs, till I heard of his death; and had no time to prepare myſelf for this cruel ſtroke, by previouſly apprehending it!—Such is the preſent diſtreſs of my mind!—You muſt not wonder then that it is the whole ſubject of my letter; for I am not able, at preſent, to think or talk of any thing elſe. Farewel.

LETTER XXIV. *To* MAXIMUS.

THE friendſhip I profeſs for you, induces me, not indeed to direct (for you are far above the want of a guide) but to remind you, however, of what you already know, and to admoniſh you carefully to obſerve and firmly

firmly to put it in practice; in other words, to know it to all the more useful purposes of knowledge. You will consider yourself as sent to that noble province, Achaia, the real and genuine Greece, where politeness, learning, and even agriculture itself, are supposed to have taken their first rise; as sent to govern a state composed of free cities; that is, to a society of men who breathe the spirit of true manhood and liberty [a]; who main-

a "It is remarkable, that even after Greece was absorb'd "in the Roman empire, and became a province to it under "the name of Achaia, it did not lose with its power and so- "vereignty, that lively sense and love of liberty, which was the "peculiar character of that people, amongst whom the arts "were produced and brought to perfection. The Romans, "when they had subdued Greece, left that generous, brave, "polite people, in possession of many of their rights and pri- "vileges. And they maintained such an ardent zeal for "liberty, that, to name no other instances of it, when the "civil wars happen'd in Italy, the Athenians very warmly "espoused the part of Pompey, who fought for the repub- "lic: and after Cæsar was killed, they erected statues in "honour of Brutus and Cassius, near to those of Harmodius "and Aristogiton, their ancient deliverers. It was hence "Greece, Athens in particular, after it was very much "fallen and degenerated, continued still to be the metro- "polis of sciences, the school of all the fine arts, the stan- "dard and center of good taste in all works of genius, to "Cicero's time, and long afterwards; insomuch, that Rome "sent its most illustrious youth to be perfected there in po- "lite literature, eloquence, philosophy, and all the ingenious "arts and sciences; and the emperors who loved learn- "ing, if they could not go to Greece and become scholars "there, as some of them did, brought Greece to them by "inviting and receiving into their palaces its most celebrated "professors and artists, and even intrusting the education "of their children with Greek masters. Now, their con-

"tinuing

maintained the rights they received from Nature, by courage, by virtue, by alliances; in a word, by civil and religious faith. Revere the Gods and Heroes their founders; the glory of their antient days; and even that very antiquity itſelf; for age, as it is venerable in men, is in ſtates ſacred. Honour them therefore for their deeds of old renown; for thoſe which true, and (I do not ſcruple to add) which fabulous, hiſtory has recorded. Indulge them in the full exerciſe of their dignities, their privileges, and their very vanity. Remember, it was from this nation we derived our [b] laws; that ſhe did not receive ours

" tinuing to excel in the arts and ſciences, to what elſe can " it be attributed, but to this, that with ſome ſmall remains " of liberty, they retained the ſpirit of liberty, the love of " it, and zeal for it? It was indeed in conſequence of this " alone, that they maintained, in ſome degree, even till " Italy was quite over-run with barbariſm, a ſovereignty the " Romans could not take from them; a ſovereignty in " ſcience, arts, and good taſte. 'Tis impoſſible to account " for it in any other way: they preſerved the arts in a very " great degree, becauſe they retained the ſpirit of liberty in " a very extraordinary one." *Turnbull on ancient Painting, p.* 100.

[b] About the year of Rome 300, that is, 452 years before Chriſt, embaſſadors were ſent into Greece, to make a collection of ſuch laws and cuſtoms as the wiſdom of that polite people had eſtabliſhed, particularly the famous ones of Solon. At their return, theſe laws were approved and confirmed, and, together with ſome additional ones, were engraven on ten tables of braſs. Two other tables of laws were ſoon afterwards added to theſe, which together with the former, went by the name of the *twelve tables*, and were looked upon as the fountain of all law, public and private. *Liv. l.* 3. *c.* 31. *Ferriere Hiſt. des Lois civ. c.* 5.

ours by conqueſt, but gave us her own in conſequence of our particular requeſt. Remember, it is Athens that you approach; it is Lacedæmon you govern: and to deprive ſo renowned a people of the declining ſhadow, the remaining name of liberty, would be a hardſhip, would be even a barbarity of the ſevereſt kind. Phyſicians, you ſee, tho' with reſpect to diſeaſes there is no difference between the free and the ſlave, yet treat perſons of the former rank with more tenderneſs, than thoſe of the latter. Reflect on the illuſtrious figure theſe cities once made; but ſo reflect, as not to deſpiſe them for what they now are. Far be pride and aſperity from my friend; nor fear by a proper condeſcenſion, to lay yourſelf open to contempt. Can he who is veſted with the power and bears the enſigns of authority, can *He* fail of meeting with reſpect, unleſs by purſuing baſe and ſordid meaſures, and firſt breaking thro' that awful reverence he owes to himſelf? Ill, believe me, is power proved by inſult; ill can terrour command veneration; and far more efficacious is affection in obtaining one's purpoſe, than fear. For terrour operates no longer than its object is preſent, but love produces its effects when the object is at a diſtance; and as abſence changes the former into hatred, it raiſes the latter into reſpect. It behoves you therefore, (and I cannot repeat it too often)

it behoves you well to conſider the end of your office, and to repreſent to yourſelf how great and important is the adminiſtration of governing a free ſtate. For, what is more becoming our ſocial nature than well regulated government, or more valuable than liberty? How ignominious then muſt his conduct be, who turns the firſt into anarchy, and the laſt into ſlavery? To theſe conſiderations let me add, that you have an eſtabliſhed reputation to maintain: the fame you acquired by the function of the Quæſtorſhip in [c] Bythinia; the good opinion of the emperor; the credit you obtained when you were Tribune and Prætor; in a word, this very government, which may be looked upon as the reward of your former ſervices; are ſo many glorious weights which are incumbent upon you to ſupport with ſuitable dignity. The more earneſtly therefore ought you to endeavour that it may not be ſaid you ſhewed greater urbanity, integrity, and ability, in a rude province remote from Rome, than in one which lies ſo much nearer to the capital; in the midſt of a nation of ſlaves, than among a free people; that it may not be remarked, that it was chance, and not judgement, appointed you to this office; when your character was unknown and unexperienced, not tried and approved. For, it is a maxim which your reading and converſation muſt have

[c] A province in Anatolia, or Aſia the leſs.

have often ſuggeſted to you, that it is a far greater diſgrace to loſe the fame one has once attained, than never to have acquired it. I again beg you to be perſuaded, that I did not write this letter as preſuming to inſtruct, but to remind you. Tho' indeed if I had, it would have only been in conſequence of the great affection I bear you; a ſentiment which I am in no apprehenſion of carrying beyond its juſt limits: for, there can be no danger of exceſs where one cannot love too well. Farewel.

THE

LETTERS

OF

PLINY.

BOOK IX.

LETTER I. *To* MAXIMUS.

I HAVE frequently adviſed you, to be as expeditious as poſſible in publiſhing what you have written either in defence of yourſelf, or againſt Planta; or rather indeed (as the circumſtances of the caſe demanded) what you drew up with both thoſe views: but I particularly preſs this advice upon you *now* that I hear he is dead. For tho' you redde this piece to ſeveral of your friends, and put it into the hands of others, yet I ſhould be

extremely ſorry, that the world ſhould ſuſpect you did not venture to compoſe till after his death, what it is moſt certain you had finiſhed during his life. Let not the character my friend has acquired of firmneſs and reſolution be called in queſtion: as it will not, when both the candid and the malicious world ſhall know, that the death of your adverſary did not give you the confidence of writing, but only anticipated the opportunity of publiſhing this piece. Thus you will avoid the imputation,

With coward joy to triumph o'er the dead[a]:

For what you wrote and actually recited before his death, will be conſidered as publiſhed during his life, provided you publiſh it ſoon. If therefore you have any other work upon your hands, let me intreat you to lay it aſide, and give your laſt finiſhing touches to this performance. It ſeemed to me indeed, when I formerly redde it, to want no improvements; and ſo it ought to ſeem now to you, as neither the ſubject requires, nor the time will admit of longer delay. Farewel.

[a] Hom. Od. lib. 22.

LET.

LETTER II. *To* SABINUS.

YOUR requeſt that I would write to you frequent and long letters, is very pleaſing to me. If I have forborne to do ſo, it is partly in conſideration of the important affairs in which you are employed; and partly from ſome very cold and unintereſting occupations of my own, which engage my thoughts, and damp my imagination. Beſides, I have not a ſufficient ſupply of matter for frequent letters; and am by no means in the ſame ſituation that Tully was, whom you point out to me as an example. He not only poſſeſſed a moſt enlarged genius, but the circumſtances of the times wherein he lived, furniſhed him with a variety of noble occaſions of exerciſing it. As for myſelf, you know (without my telling you) to what narrow limits I am confined, unleſs my letters were to turn upon the fictitious and pedantic topics of the ſchools. But when I conſider you in the midſt of arms and encampments, animated by martial muſic, or fatigued with toil and heat; how abſurd would it be to talk to you upon ſuch ſubjects? This is my apology, and I think it a reaſonable one; however, I almoſt wiſh you would not accept it: for to reject the excuſes of a friend upon ſuch an occaſion, be they

ever ſo juſt, is an evident proof of a warm affection. Farewel.

LETTER III. *To* PAULINUS.

MANKIND differ in their notions of ſupreme happineſs; but in my opinion he truly poſſeſſes it, who lives in the conſcious anticipation of honeſt fame and the glorious figure he ſhall make in the eyes of poſterity. I confeſs, if I had not the reward of an immortal reputation in view, I ſhould prefer a life of uninterrupted eaſe and indolent retirement, to any other. There ſeem to be but two points worthy our attention; endleſs fame, or the ſhort duration of human life. Thoſe who are actuated by the former motive muſt labour to attain it with the utmoſt exertion of their powers; while ſuch as are influenced by the latter, ſhould quietly reſign themſelves to repoſe, nor wear out a ſhort life, as many we ſee do, in a painful courſe of ill-directed purſuits, and then ſink at laſt into a total diſſatisfaction both of themſelves and of the world. Theſe are my daily reflections, and I communicate them to you, in order to renounce them if you ſhould not join with me in the ſame ſentiments; as undoubtedly you will, who are ever meditating ſome worthy deed to render your name immortal. Farewel.

LET-

LETTER IV. *To* MACRINUS.

I Should fear you would think the oration which you receive with this letter, immoderately long, if it were not of ſuch a nature as to require being divided into ſeveral ſections; which conſiſting of diſtinct charges, have the appearance of ſo many ſeparate ſpeeches. Wherever therefore you begin or end, you may conſider what follows, either as connected with what precedes, or making of itſelf a new ſubject: ſo that you may look upon it as very diffuſe upon the whole, and yet as extremely conciſe with reſpect to its particular parts. Farewel.

LETTER V. *To* TIRO.

YOU are greatly to be applauded for the juſt manner with which, as I am informed (and I make very ſtrict enquiry) you adminiſter the government of your province; one principal branch of which is to diſtinguiſh merit in every degree, and ſo to gain the love of the lower rank, as to preſerve at the ſame time the affection of their ſuperiours. But it is an errour many have fallen into, that while they endeavour to avoid the appearance of favouring the great, they run into the contrary extreme,

treme, and incur the imputation of acting with ill manners, or ill nature: an errour which you are far from committing, I well know. However, I cannot forbear adding a caution to my praiſe, and recommending it to you, to conduct yourſelf in ſuch a manner, as to preſerve the proper diſtinction of rank and dignity. For to level and confound the different orders of ſociety, is far from producing an equality among mankind; it is, in fact, the moſt unequal thing imaginable. Farewel.

LETTER VI. *To* CALVISIUS.

I Have ſpent theſe ſeveral laſt days in my ſtudy with the moſt pleaſing tranquillity. You will aſk how that can be poſſible in the midſt of Rome? It happened to be the ſeaſon of celebrating the [a] Circenſian games; an entertainment for which I have not the leaſt taſte. They have no novelty, no variety to recommend them; nothing, in ſhort, one would wiſh to be preſent at twice. It is the more ſurprizing therefore, that ſo many thouſand people ſhould be poſſeſſed with the childiſh paſſion of deſiring often to ſee a parcel of horſes gallop, and men ſtanding erect in their chariots. If indeed, it were

[a] Theſe games were originally of Græcian extraction, but firſt introduced among the Romans by Romulus, in order to favour his deſign of carrying off the Sabine virgins: they conſiſted of horſe and chariot races, &c.

were the ſwiftneſs of the horſes, or the ſkill of the charioteers that attracted them, there might be ſome little pretence of reaſon on their ſide. But it is the *dreſs* they [b] favour; it is the dreſs that captivates them. And if in the midſt of the courſe the different contenders were to change habits, their different partizans would change ſides, and inſtantly deſert the very ſame men and horſes, whom they juſt before were eagerly following with their eyes as far as they could ſee, and ſhouting their names with all the warmth of vociferous exclamation. Such mighty charms, ſuch wonderous power is there in the colour of a paltry tunic! and this in the ſentiments, not only of the vulgar (more contemptible than the uniform they eſpouſe) but even in the opinion of ſome grave perſonages. When I obſerve ſuch men thus inſatiably fond of ſo ſilly, ſo low, ſo unintereſting, ſo common an entertainment, I congratulate myſelf that I am inſenſible to theſe pleaſures; and am glad to employ the leiſure of this ſeaſon upon my ſtudies, which others throw away upon the moſt idle occupations. Farewel.

[b] The performers at theſe games were divided into companies, diſtinguiſhed by the particular colour of their habits; the principal of which were the white, the red, the blue, and the green. Accordingly the ſpectators favoured one or the other colour, as humour and caprice inclined them. In the reign of Juſtinian a † tumult aroſe in Conſtantinople, occaſioned merely by a contention among the partizans of theſe ſeveral colours, wherein no leſs than 30,000 men loſt their lives.

† Procop. de Bell. Perſic. l. 1.

LET-

LETTER VII. *To* ROMANUS.

I AM glad to find by your letter, that you are engaged in building; for I may now defend my own conduct by your example. I am myself occupied in the same sort of work; and since I have you on my side, who shall deny I have reason too? We are pretty much agreed likewise, I find, in our situations; and as your buildings are carrying on upon the sea-coast, mine are rising upon the side of the Larian lake. I have several villas upon the borders of this lake, but there are two particularly, in which as I take most delight, so they give me most employment. They are both situated like those at [a] Baiæ: one

[a] Now called Castello di Baia, in Terra di Lavoro. It was the place the Romans chose for their winter retreat; and which they frequented upon account of its warm baths. Some few ruins of the beautiful villas that once covered this delightful coast, still remain; and nothing can give one a higher idea of the prodigious expence and magnificence of the Romans in their private buildings, than the manner in which some of these were situated. It appears from this letter, as well as from several other passages in the classic writers, that they actually projected into the sea, being erected upon vast piles sunk for that purpose. Virgil draws a beautiful simile from this custom, where he compares the massy spear which Turnus hurled at Bitias, to one of those enormous piles thrown into the Baian sea:

Qualis

one of them ſtands upon a rock, and has a proſpect of the lake; the other actually touches it. The firſt,

Qualis in Euboico Baiarum littore quondam
Saxea pila cadit, magnis quam molibus ante
Conſtructum jaciunt ponto; ſic illa ruinam
Prona trahit penituſque vadis illiſa recumbit;
Miſcent ſe maria, & nigræ attolluntur arenæ.
Æn. ix. 710.

So from the Baian mole, whoſe ſtructures riſe
High o'er the flood, a maſſy fragment flies;
The rapid rolling pile all headlong ſweeps
With one vaſt length of ruin to the deeps;
Thick boil the billows, and on every ſide
Work the dark ſands, and blacken all the tide.
PITT.

Horace alſo, in one of his moral Odes, points out and expoſes this amazing luxury of building:

Tu ſecanda marmora
Locas ſub ipſum funus; & ſepulcri
Immemor, ſtruis domos;
Mariſque Baiis obſtrepentis urges
Summovere littora,
Parum locuples continente ripa.
Od. 18. l. 2.

—You, with thoughtleſs pride elate,
Unconſcious of impending fate,
Command the pillar'd dome to riſe,
When lo! thy tomb forgotten lies;
And tho' the waves indignant roar,
Forward you urge the Baian ſhore,
While earth's too narrow bounds in vain
Thy guilty progreſs would reſtrain.
Mr. FRANCIS.

And here indeed, luxury ſeems to have reigned in her moſt licentious refinements of all kinds; while the principal amuſement of the place conſiſted in ſailing upon the gulph in gaily painted

firſt, ſupported as it were by the lofty [b] buſkin, I call my *tragic*; the other, as reſting upon the humble ſock, my *comic* villa. They have each their particular beauties, which recommend themſelves to me ſo much the more, as they are of different kinds. The former commands a wider proſpect of the lake; the latter enjoys a nearer view of it. *This*, by an eaſy bend, embraces a little bay; the promontory upon which the *other* ſtands, forms two. *Here* you have a ſtrait walk, extending itſelf along the banks of the lake; *there* a ſpacious terrace that falls by a gentle deſcent towards it. The former does not feel the force of the waves; the latter breaks them: from *that* you ſee the fiſhing-veſſels below; from *this* you may fiſh yourſelf, and throw your line from your chamber, and almoſt from your bed, as from a boat. It is the beauties therefore theſe agreeable villas poſſeſs, that tempt me to add to them thoſe which are wanting ——But I need

painted barks, accompanied with all the melting ſoftneſs that exquiſite wines, fine women, and rapturous muſic could inſpire. There was ſomething even in the natural, as well as artificial turn of the ſcene, which ſeemed formed to diſſolve the mind into a ſtate of ſoftneſs and diſſipation: inſomuch, that Seneca, with all his ſtoical fortitude, durſt not truſt himſelf in it above a day. See Seneca, ep. 51.

[b] The buſkin was a kind of high ſhoe worn upon the ſtage by the actors of tragedy, in order to give them a more heroical elevation of ſtature; as the ſock was ſomething between a ſhoe and ſlipper, and appropriated to the comic players.

need not aſſign a reaſon to you; who, undoubtedly, will think it a ſufficient one that I follow your example. Farewel.

LETTER VIII. *To* AUGURINUS.

WERE I to beſtow praiſe on *you* from whom I have received ſo much, I am afraid it would ſeem to proceed, not ſo much from my judgement, as my gratitude. Nevertheleſs I will not ſcruple to ſay, that I think all your productions are beautiful; eſpecially, you may be ſure, thoſe of which I am the ſubject. And the ſame reaſon will account both for their deſerving that character and for my thinking ſo: for, as on the one hand you ever ſucceed beſt when friendſhip inſpires you; ſo on the other, I always like moſt what flatters my vanity. Farewel.

LETTER IX. *To* COLO.

I Greatly admire the generous grief you expreſs for the death of Pompeius Quinctianus, as it is a proof that your affection for your departed friend, does not terminate with his life. Far different from thoſe who love, or rather, I ſhould more properly ſay, who counterfeit love to none but the living. Nor indeed even *that* any longer than they

are

are the favourites of fortune; for the unhappy are no more the object of their remembrance, than the dead. But *your* friendſhip is raiſed upon a more laſting foundation, and the conſtancy of your affection can only end with your life. Quinctianus, moſt certainly, well deſerved to meet with that generous warmth from his friends, of which he was himſelf ſo bright an example. He loved them in proſperity; protected them in adverſity; lamented them in death. How open was his countenance! how modeſt his converſation! how equally did he temper gravity with gaiety! how fond was he of learning! how judicious his ſentiments! how dutiful to a father of a very different character! and how happily did he reconcile filial piety to inflexible virtue, continuing a good ſon, without forfeiting the title of a good man!—But why do I aggravate your affliction by reminding you of his merit?—yet I know your affection for the memory of this excellent youth is ſo ſtrong, that you had rather endure that pain, than ſuffer his virtues to be paſſed over in ſilence; eſpecially by me, whoſe applauſe, you imagine, will adorn his actions, extend his fame, and reſtore him, as it were, to that life from which he is prematurely ſnatched. Farewel.

LET-

LETTER X. *To* TACITUS [a].

I Should be glad to follow your precepts; but there is ſuch a ſcarcity of boars, that it is impoſſible to pay at the ſame time equal homage to Minerva and Diana, who, you think, ought to be jointly worſhipped. I muſt content myſelf therefore with offering my ſingle devotion to the former; and even *that* with ſome reſtriction, conſidering the heats of the ſeaſon, and the privileged indolence of retirement. I compoſed, indeed, a few trifles in my journey hither, which are only worthy of being deſtroyed, as they are written with the ſame careleſs unſtudied manner that one uſually chats upon the road. Since I came to my villa, I have made ſome few additions to them, not finding myſelf in a humour to turn my thoughts to things of more conſe-

[a] The learned Catanæus, with ſome other commentators, imagines this letter does not belong to Pliny, but is the anſwer of Tacitus to the 6th epiſtle of the firſt book. He ſupports this conjecture, indeed, by no authority; only thinks it falls in exactly with the letter, to which he ſuppoſes it an anſwer, and fancies he diſcovers ſomething in the ſtile different from our author's manner. But upon a compariſon of the two letters, there ſeems little reaſon to believe one is an anſwer to the other. And as to any difference of ſtile (if there really be any) which the tranſlator confeſſes he has not penetration enough to diſcover, it is much too precarious an argument to have any weight in the caſe. The ſuppoſition of Caſaubon ſeems more probable, who thinks this epiſtle might be occaſioned by one from Tacitus, wherein he reminded Pliny of his own advice to him, in that letter to which Catanæus imagines this to be an anſwer.

quence. Thus my poems, which you ſuppoſe I am finiſhing with ſo much advantage amidſt the ſilence and ſolemnity of woods and groves, are, in truth, wholly at a ſtand. But I have reviſed an oration or two; tho' that kind of buſineſs is ſo unpleaſant, as rather to reſemble ruſtic labours, than rural amuſements. Farewel.

LETTER XI. *To* GEMINUS.

YOUR letter was particularly acceptable to me, as it mentioned your deſire that I would ſend you ſomething of mine addreſſed to you, to inſert in your works. I ſhall find an occaſion of complying with your requeſt more proper than that which you propoſe; the ſubject you point out to me being attended with ſome objections; and when you conſider it again, you will think ſo.—As I did not imagine there were any bookſellers at [a] Lugdunum, I am ſo much the more pleaſed to learn that my works are ſold there. I rejoice to find they maintain the ſame character abroad, which they raiſed at home; and I begin to flatter myſelf they have ſome merit, ſince perſons of ſuch diſtant countries are agreed in their opinion concerning them. Farewel.

[a] Lyons, in the Lyonois, a province of France.

LETTER XII. *To* JUNIOR.

A Certain friend of mine lately chaſtiſed his ſon in my preſence, for being ſomewhat too expenſive in the article of dogs and horſes. "And pray, (I aſked for him, when the youth was "withdrawn) did you never commit a fault your-"ſelf which deſerved your father's correction? "Are you not ſometimes even now guilty of "errors, which your ſon, were he in your place, "might with equal gravity reprove? Are not all "mankind ſubject to indiſcretions? And have we "not each of us our particular follies in which we "fondly indulge ourſelves?"

The great affection I have for you, induced me to ſet this inſtance of unreaſonable ſeverity before you, as a caution not to treat your ſon with too much rigour and auſterity. Conſider he is but a boy, and that there was a time when you were of the ſame age. In exerting therefore, the authority of a father, remember always that you are a man, and the parent of a man. Farewel.

LETTER XIII. *To* QUADRATUS.

THE pleaſure and attention with which you peruſed the vindication I publiſhed of [a] Helvidius, has greatly raiſed your curioſity, it ſeems, to be informed of thoſe particulars relating to that affair, which are not mentioned in the defence; as you were too young to be preſent yourſelf at that tranſaction. When Domitian was aſſaſſinated, a glorious opportunity, I thought, offered itſelf of purſuing the guilty, vindicating the injured, and advancing my own reputation. But amidſt an infinite variety of the blackeſt crimes, none appeared to me more atrocious, than that a ſenator, of prætorian dignity, and inveſted with the ſacred character of a judge, ſhould, even in the very ſenate itſelf, lay violent hands upon a member [b] of that auguſt aſſembly; upon one, who formerly had the honour of being conſul, and who then ſtood arraigned before him. Beſides this general conſideration, I had likewiſe a particular intimacy with Helvidius, as far as it was poſſible to hold with one, who fearing the tyranny of the times, endeavoured to veil

[a] He was accuſed of treaſon, under pretence that in a dramatic piece which he compoſed, he had, in the characters of Paris and Oenone, reflected upon Domitian for divorcing his wife Domitia. Suet. in vit. Domit. c. 10.

[b] Helvidius.

veil the luſtre of his fame, and his virtues, in obſcurity and retirement. Arria likewiſe, and her daughter Fannia who was mother-in-law to Helvidius, were in the number of my friends. But it was not ſo much private attachments, as the honour of the public, a juſt indignation at the action, and the danger of the example if it ſhould paſs unpuniſhed, that animated me upon this occaſion. At the firſt reſtoration of [c] liberty, every man ſingled out his particular enemy, (tho' it muſt be confeſſed, thoſe only of a lower rank) and in the midſt of much clamour and confuſion, no ſooner brought the charge than procured the condemnation. But for myſelf, I thought it would have more the appearance of moderation as well as ſpirit, not to take advantage of the general reſentment of the public, but to cruſh this criminal with the ſingle weight of his own enormous guilt. When therefore the firſt heat of public indignation began to cool, and declining paſſion gave way to juſtice, tho' I was at that time under great affliction for the loſs of [d] my wife, I ſent to Anteia, the widow of Helvidius, and deſired her to come to me, as my late misfortune

[c] Upon the acceſſion of Nerva to the empire, after the death of Domitian.

[d] Our author's firſt wife: of whom we have no particular account. After her death he married his favourite Calphurnia.

prevented me from appearing in public. When ſhe arrived, I acquainted her with my intention not to ſuffer the injuries her huſband had received, to paſs unrevenged; and deſired her to conſult with Arria and Fannia (who were juſt returned from exile) whether ſhe and they would join with me in the proſecution. Not that I wanted, I ſaid, an aſſociate, but that I was not ſo jealous of my own glory, as to refuſe to ſhare it with them in this affair. She accordingly communicated this meſſage to them; and they all agreed to the propoſal without the leaſt heſitation. It happened very opportunely, that the ſenate was to meet within three days. It was a general rule with me to conſult, in all my affairs, with Corellius, a perſon of the greateſt prudence and wiſdom this age has produced. However in the preſent caſe, I relied entirely upon my own diſcretion, being apprehenſive he would not approve of my deſign, as he was of a very indeciſive and cautious temper. But altho' I did not previouſly deliberate with him, (experience having taught me, never to adviſe with a perſon concerning a queſtion we have already determined, where he has a right to expect that one ſhall be decided by his judgement) yet I could not forbear acquainting him with my reſolution at the time I propoſed to carry it into execution. The ſenate being aſſembled, I came into the houſe, and begged I might have

leave

leave to make a motion: which I accordingly did in few words, and with general aſſent. When I began to touch upon the charge and point out the perſon I intended to accuſe (tho' as yet without mentioning him by name) I was attacked on all ſides. "Let us know, ſays one, who is the object of this "extraordinary motion? Who is it (aſked another) "that is thus accuſed, without acquainting the "houſe with his name, and his crime? Surely "(added a third) we who have eſcaped the late "dangerous times, may expect now, at leaſt, to "remain in ſecurity." I heard all this with great calmneſs, and without being in the leaſt alarmed; ſuch is the effect of conſcious integrity; and ſo much difference is there with reſpect to inſpiring confidence or fear, whether the world had only rather one ſhould forbear a certain act, or abſolutely condemns it. It would be too tedious to relate all that was advanced by different parties upon this occaſion. At length the conſul acquainted me, that I was at liberty to propoſe what I thought proper, when my turn ſhould come to give my opinion upon the [c] order of the day. I thanked him for allowing me

[c] 'Tis very remarkable, that when any ſenator was aſked his opinion in the houſe concerning the buſineſs in agitation, he

a liberty, which he never yet (I ſaid) refuſed to any; and ſo ſat down: when immediately the houſe went upon other buſineſs. In the mean while, one of my conſular friends took me aſide, and with great earneſtneſs telling me he thought I had proceeded in this matter with more courage than prudence, uſed every method of reproof and perſuaſion, to prevail with me to deſiſt; adding at the ſame time, that I ſhould certainly, if I perſevered, render myſelf obnoxious to ſome future prince. "And ſo be "it, (I returned) ſhould he prove a bad one." He had ſcarce left me, when a ſecond came up: "for God's ſake, ſaid he, what are you at- "tempting? Why will you ruin yourſelf? Do "you conſider to what hazards you are expoſed? "Why will you preſume too much on the pre- "ſent ſituation of public affairs, when it is ſo un- "certain what turn they may hereafter take? You "are attacking a man who is actually at the head "of the treaſury, and will ſhortly be conſul. Be- "ſides, do you conſider what credit he has, and "with what powerful friendſhips he is ſupport- "ed?" Upon which he named a certain perſon, who (not without ſeveral unfavourable rumours)

he had the privilege of ſpeaking as long as he pleaſed upon any other affair, before he delivered his ſentiments on the point in queſtion. Aul. Gell. lib. 4. c. 10.

mours) [a] was then at the head of a powerful army in the Eaſt. I replied,

" *All I've foreſeen, and oft in thought revolv'd* [b]

" and am willing, if fate ſhall ſo decree, to ſuffer " by acting an honourable part, provided I can " draw vengeance down upon a moſt infamous " one." The time for the members to give their reſpective opinions was now arrived. Domitius Apollinaris, the conſul elect, ſpoke firſt; after him Fabricius Vejento, then Fabius Poſthumius; Vectius Proculus next, (who married my wife's mother, and who was collegue of publicius Certus, the perſon on whom the debate turned) and laſt of all Ammius Flaccus. They all defended Certus, as if I had already accuſed him (tho' I had not yet ſo much as once mentioned his name) and entered upon his juſtification as if I had exhibited a ſpecific charge. It is not neceſſary to repeat, in this place, what they reſpectively ſaid, having related it in their own words in the ſpeech above-mentioned. Avidius Quietus, and Cornutus Tertullius anſwered them. The former obſerved, " that it was extremely unjuſt not to hear " the complaints of thoſe who thought themſelves " injured; and therefore that Arria and Fannia " ought

[a] Probably concerning his intentions to employ his credit with the army, to be proclaimed emperor either immediately, or on the death of Nerva.

[b] Æneid. lib. 6. v. 105.

" ought not to be denied the privilege of laying " their grievances before the houſe; and that the " point for the conſideration of the ſenate was not " the rank of the perſon but the merit of the " cauſe." Then Cornutus roſe up and acquainted the houſe, " that as he was appointed guar- " dian to the daughter of Helvidius by the con- " ſuls, upon the petition of her mother and her " father-in-law, he thought himſelf obliged to " fulfil the duty of his truſt. In the execution " of which, however, he would endeavour to ſet " ſome bounds to his indignation, by following " that great example of moderation which thoſe " excellent women [a] had ſet, who contented them- " ſelves with barely informing the ſenate of the " cruelties which Certus committed in order to " carry on his infamous adulation. And there- " fore, he would only move, that if a puniſh- " ment due to a crime ſo notoriouſly known, " ſhould be remitted, that at leaſt Certus might " be branded with ſome mark of the diſplea- " ſure of that auguſt aſſembly." Satrius Rufus ſpoke next, and meaning to ſteer a kind of middle courſe, expreſſed himſelf with much ambiguity. " I am of opinion, ſaid he, that great " injuſtice will be done to Certus, if he is not " acquitted (for I do not ſcruple to mention " his

[a] Arria and Fannia.

" his name, ſince the friends of Arria and Fannia, " as well as his own, have done ſo too) nor indeed " have we any occaſion to be ſolicitous upon this " account. We who think well of the man, ſhall " judge him with the ſame impartiality as the reſt: " but if he is innocent, as I hope he is, and ſhall be " glad to find, I think this houſe may very juſtly " deny the preſent motion, 'till ſome charge ſhall " be proved againſt him." Thus, according to the reſpective order in which they were called [a] upon, they delivered their ſeveral opinions. When it came to my turn, I roſe up, and uſing the ſame introduction to my ſpeech as I have publiſhed in the defence, I replied to them ſeverally. It is ſurpriſing with what an univerſal aſſent I was heard, even by thoſe who juſt before were loudeſt againſt me: ſuch a wonderful change was wrought either by the importance of the affair, the eloquence of the ſpeech, or the reſolution of the advocate. After I had finiſhed, Vejento attempted to reply; but the general clamour not permitting him to proceed, " I hope, conſcript fathers, [b] ſaid " he,

[a] In the early times of the republic, the conſul began by aſking the opinion of the *Prince* of the ſenate, and the reſt went on each according to his age. Under the emperors, their will ſerved as a rule: for as the prince preſided in the ſenate, he demanded the opinion of him firſt, whom he thought fit to do that honour: however, he more uſually began with the conſuls.

[b] The appellation by which the ſenate was addreſſed.

" he, you will not oblige me to implore the aſ-
" ſiſtance of the [h] Tribunes." Immediately the tribune Murena cried out, " You have my leave,
" moſt illuſtrious Vejento, to go on." But ſtill the clamour was renewed. In the interval, the conſul ordered the houſe to divide, and having counted the voices, diſmiſſed the ſenate, leaving Vejento in the midſt, ſtill attempting to ſpeak. He made great complaints of this affront (as he called it) applying the following lines of Homer to himſelf:

[i] *Great perils, father, wait th' unequal fight;*
Thoſe younger champions will thy ſtrength o'ercome.

There was ſcarce a man in the ſenate that did not embrace and kiſs me, and all ſtrove who ſhould applaud me moſt, for having with the utmoſt hazard to myſelf, revived a cuſtom ſo long diſuſed, of freely conſulting the ſenate upon affairs that concern the honour of the public; in a word, for having wiped off that reproach which was thrown upon it by the other orders in the ſtate, " that
" the ſenators mutually favoured the members of
" their

[h] The tribunes were magiſtrates choſen at firſt out of the body of the commons, for the defence of their liberties, and to interpoſe in all grievances offered by their ſuperiours. Their authority extended even to the deliberations of the ſenate.

[i] Diomed's ſpeech to Neſtor, adviſing him to retire from the field of battle. Iliad. iii. 102. Pope.

" their own body, while they were very ſe-
" vere in animadverting upon the reſt of their
" fellow citizens." All this was tranſacted in the abſence of Certus, who kept out of the way, either becauſe he ſuſpected ſomething of this nature was intended to be moved, or (as was ſaid in his excuſe) that he was really indiſpoſed. Cæſar, however, did not refer the examination of this matter to the ſenate. But I ſucceeded nevertheleſs, in my aim, another perſon being appointed inſtead of Certus to the conſulſhip, while the election of his collegue to that office was confirmed. And thus, the wiſh with which I concluded my ſpeech, was actually realized: " may he be obliged, ſaid I, to renounce under " a [k] virtuous prince, that reward he received " from an infamous one [l]!" Some time after, I recollected, as well as I could, the ſpeech I delivered upon this occaſion; to which I made ſome additions. It happened (tho' indeed it had the appearance of being ſomewhat more than caſual) that a few days after I had publiſhed this piece, Certus was taken ill and died. I was told that his imagination continually repreſented

[k] Nerva.

[l] Domitian; by whom he had been appointed conſul elect, tho' he had not yet entered upon that office.

ſented me as a man that was purſuing him with a dagger. Whether there was any truth in this rumour, I will not venture to aſſert; but for the ſake of example, however, I wiſh it might gain credit. And now I have ſent you a letter, which if you ſhould think is as long as the defence you ſay you have redde, you muſt impute it to yourſelf, for not being contented with ſuch information as that piece could afford you. Farewel.

LETTER XIV. *To* TACITUS.

THO' you are by no means inclined to ſelf-admiration, yet, be aſſured, none of my writings are more ſincerely the undiſſembled dictates of my real thoughts, than thoſe of which you are the ſubject. Whether, indeed, Poſterity will concern herſelf with either of us, I know not; but ſurely we deſerve ſome ſmall regard at leaſt, I will not ſay upon account of our geniuſes (that would be too vain a preſumption) but from our induſtry, our labours, and that high reverence we feel for her. Proceed we then, my friend, in the courſe we have entered, which as it has conducted ſome to the brighteſt eminences of Fame,

ſo

ſo it has drawn forth many from ſilent obſcurity into public notice and reputation. Farewel.

LETTER XV. *To* FALCO.

I Retired to my villa at Tuſcum, with the hopes of paſſing my time here, at leaſt, in my own way: but that is a privilege, I find, I am not to enjoy even here; ſo greatly am I interrupted with the importunate complaints and petitions of my tenants. I look over their papers with more reluctance than I examine my own; for, to confeſs the truth, it is with great unwillingneſs I review even theſe. I am reviſing, however, ſome little orations; an employment which, after a length of time has intervened, is but of a very cold and unentertaining kind. In the mean while, my domeſtic affairs are neglected as much as if I were abſent. Yet I ſometimes ſo far act the part of a careful maſter of a family, as to mount my horſe and ride about my farms, inſtead of taking my exerciſe in the [a] *geſtatio*. As for you, I hope you will keep up your good old cuſtom, and in return for this account of my rural occupations, let us country folk know what is going forward in town. Farewel.

[a] See p. 4. note [c].

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LETTER XVI. *To* MAMILIANUS.

IT is no wonder the chace you mention afforded you infinite pleaſure, ſince "the number of "the ſlain (to uſe your own hiſtorical expreſſion) "was not to be counted[a]." As for myſelf, I have neither leiſure nor inclination for ſports of that kind: not leiſure, becauſe I am in the midſt of my vintage; nor inclination, becauſe it has proved an extreme bad one this ſeaſon. However, I ſhall be able, I hope, to *draw off* ſome new verſes, at leaſt, if not new wine, for your entertainment, which (ſince you requeſt them in ſo agreeable a manner) I will not fail to ſend you, as ſoon as they ſhall be thoroughly *ſettled.* Farewel.

LETTER XVII. *To* GENITOR.

I Have received your letter, in which you complain of being highly diſguſted lately at a very ſplendid entertainment, by a ſet of buffoons, mummers, and wanton proſtitutes, who were playing their antic tricks [b] round the tables. But

[a] An expreſſion frequent among the hiſtorians in their deſcription of battles.

[b] Theſe perſons were introduced at moſt of the tables of the great, for the purpoſes of mirth and gaiety, and conſtituted

But let me adviſe you to ſmooth your brow a little. It is true, I admit nothing of this kind at my

tuted an eſſential part in all polite entertainments among the Romans. It is ſurprizing how ſoon this great people deviated from their original ſeverity of manners, and were tainted with the contagion of foreign luxury. Livy dates the riſe of this, and other unmanly delicacies, from the conqueſt of Scipio Aſiaticus over Antiochus; that is, when the republic had ſcarcely ſubſiſted above a hundred and fourſcore years. * *Luxuriæ peregrinæ origo*, he obſerves, *exercitu Aſiatico in urbem invecta eſt*. This triumphant army caught, it ſeems, the contaminating diverſions of the people it ſubdued; and at its return to Rome, ſcattered infection among their countrymen, which ſpread by ſlow degrees, till it effected their total deſtruction. Thus did eaſtern luxury revenge itſelf on Roman arms! It may be wondered, that Pliny ſhould keep his own temper, and check the indignation of his friend's at a ſcene, which was fit only for the diſſolute revels of the infamous Trimalchio. But it will not, perhaps, be doing juſtice to our author, to take an eſtimate of his real ſentiments upon this point, from the letter before us. Genitor, it ſeems, was a man of ſtrict, but rather of too auſtere morals for the free turn of the age: *emendatus & gravis: paulo etiam horridior & durior ut in hac licentia temporum*. [Ep. 3. L. 3.] But as there is a certain ſeaſonable accommodation to the manners of the times, not only extremely conſiſtent with, but highly conducive to the intereſts of virtue, Pliny, probably, may affect a greater latitude than he in general approved, in order to draw off his friend from that ſtiffneſs and unyielding diſpoſition, which might prejudice thoſe of a gayer turn againſt him, and conſequently leſſen the beneficial influence of his virtues upon the world. A late moſt ingenious author, who has greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſeveral branches of uſeful and polite literature, has given us a repreſentation of one of theſe buffoons, from an antique in his collection: to which the reader is referred for a ſtronger idea of the vitiated and low taſte of thoſe, who could receive from them any gratification. See *Middleton, Antiq. tab. 9. fig. 2.*

* Liv. l. 39. c. 6.

my own houſe; I endure them, however, without ſhewing any diſlike, when I meet with them in other people's. "And why then (you will be "ready to aſk) not have them yourſelf? Becauſe the geſtures of the wanton, the pleaſantries of the buffoon, or the extravagancies of the mummer, give me no pleaſure, as they give me no ſurprize. It is my particular taſte, you ſee, not my judgement, that I plead againſt them. And indeed, what numbers are there who think the entertainments in which you and I moſt delight, are no better than impertinent follies? How many are there, who as ſoon as a reader, a lyriſt, or a comedian is introduced, either withdraw from the company, or if they remain, ſhew as much diſlike to this kind of diverſions, as you did at thoſe *monſters*, as you call them! Let us bear therefore, my friend, with others in their amuſements, that they, in return, may ſhew indulgence to ours. Farewel.

LETTER XVIII. *To* SABINUS.

WITH what care and attention you will read my works, and how perfectly treaſure them in your memory, your letter is a ſufficient proof. Do you conſider then, what trouble

trouble you are bringing upon your hands, when you kindly entice me, by every friendly artifice, to communicate to you as many of them as poſſible? I cannot, certainly, refuſe your requeſt; but ſhall comply with it, however, at different intervals, and obſerve ſome kind of regular ſucceſſion. For, I would not by too copious and too frequent a ſupply, over-burthen and confound a memory, to which I already owe ſo many acknowledgments; nor pour in upon it ſuch a profuſion at once, as to obliterate what it had before retained, in order to make room for what ſucceeds. Farewel.

LETTER XIX. *To* RUFO.

YOU have read, it ſeems, in a letter [a] of mine, that Virginius Rufus directed the following lines to be inſcribed upon his tomb;

Here Rufus lies, who Vindex' arms withſtood,
Not for himſelf, but for his country's good:

For which you blame him, and think Frontinus acted much more reaſonably, in forbidding any monument whatſoever to be erected to his memory: and in the concluſion of your letter, you

[a] To Albinus; ſee book 6. let. 10.

deſire my ſentiments upon each. I loved them both; but I confeſs I admired *him* moſt whom you condemn; and admired him to ſuch a degree, that ſo far from imagining I ever ſhould have occaſion to become his advocate, I thought he could never be ſufficiently applauded. In my opinion, every man who has acted a great and diſtinguiſhed part deſerves, not only to be excuſed but approved, if he endeavours to ſecure immortality to the fame he has merited, and is deſirous alſo to perpetuate an everlaſting remembrance of himſelf, by monumental inſcriptions. Yet rarely ſhall you find a man, who had performed ſuch great atchievements, ſo modeſtly reſerved upon the ſubject of his own actions, as Virginius was. I can bear him witneſs (and I had the happineſs to enjoy his intimate friendſhip) that I never but once heard him mention his own conduct; and that was, in giving an account of a converſation which paſſed between him and Cluvius: "You well know (ſaid Cluvius to him) "the fidelity required in an hiſtorian; you will "pardon me therefore, I hope, if you ſhould "meet with any thing in my works, that is not "agreeable to you." "O Cluvius, he replied, "can you be ignorant that what I performed, was "in order that every man might enjoy the liberty "of writing what he pleaſed?" But let us compare

pare Frontinus with him in that very inſtance, wherein you think the former diſcovered a more modeſt and unoſtentatious diſpoſition. He forbade a monument to be erected to him, it is true; but in what words? "The expence of a "monument, ſays he, is ſuperfluous; the remem-"brance of me will remain, if my actions deſerve "it." Is there leſs vanity, do you think, thus to proclaim to all the [a] world that his memory would remain; than to mark upon a ſingle tomb-ſtone, in two lines, the actions one has performed? It is not, however, my deſign to condemn your favourite, hero; I only mean to defend Virginius: and what argument can be more prevailing with you, than one drawn from a compariſon between him and the perſon you prefer? In my own opinion, indeed, neither of them deſerve to be condemned, ſince they both were animated with the ſame ardent paſſion for glory, altho' they purſued their object by different roads: the former, in deſiring to receive thoſe monumental honours he had merited; the latter, in ſeeming to deſpiſe them. Farewel.

[a] It appears from hence, that this was not a teſtamentary direction, but a declaration in ſome work which Frontinus had publiſhed.

LETTER XX. *To* VENATOR.

THE longer your letter was, ſo much the more agreeable I thought it; eſpecially as it turned entirely upon my works. I am not at all ſurprized you ſhould find a pleaſure in them, ſince I know you have the ſame affection for every compoſition of mine, as you have for the author.

The getting in of my vintage (which tho' it has proved but a ſlender one this ſeaſon, is, however, more plentiful than I expected) particularly employs me at preſent. If indeed I can with any propriety ſay ſo, who only gather a grape now and then, viſit the wine-preſs, taſte the muſt in the vat, and ſaunter to my domeſtics [a]; who being all engaged without doors, have wholly abandoned me to my readers and my ſecretaries. Farewel.

LETTER XXI. *To* SABINIANUS.

YOUR freedman, whom you lately mentioned to me with diſpleaſure, has been with me, and threw himſelf at my feet with as much ſub-

[a] The diſtinction in the civil law between the *ſervi Urbani & Ruſtici*, is alluded to in the original; but as we have not the ſame among us, it is not poſſible, perhaps, to preſerve this alluſion, with propriety, in an Engliſh tranſlation.

ſubmiſſion as he could have ſhewn at yours. He earneſtly requeſted me with many tears, and even with all the eloquence of ſilent ſorrow, to intercede for him; in ſhort, he convinced me by his whole behaviour, that he ſincerely repents of his fault. I am perſuaded he is thoroughly reformed, becauſe he ſeems deeply ſenſible of his guilt. I know you are angry with him, and I know it is not without reaſon; but clemency can never exert itſelf more laudably, than when there is the moſt cauſe for reſentment. You once had an affection for this man, and, I hope, will have again: in the mean while, let me only prevail with you to pardon him. If he ſhould incur your diſpleaſure hereafter, you will have ſo much the ſtronger plea in excuſe for your anger, as you ſhew yourſelf the more exorable to him now. Concede ſomething to his youth, to his tears, and to your own natural mildneſs of temper: do not make him uneaſy any longer, and I will add too, do not make yourſelf ſo; for a man of your benevolence of heart, cannot be angry without feeling great uneaſineſs. I am afraid, were I to join my intreaties with his, I ſhould ſeem rather to compel, than requeſt you to forgive him. Yet I will not ſcruple even to unite mine with his; and in ſo much the ſtronger terms, as I have very ſharply and ſeverely reproved him, po-

ſitively threatening never to interpoſe again in his behalf. But tho' it was proper to ſay this to him, in order to make him more fearful of offending; I do not ſay ſo to you. I may, perhaps, again have occaſion to intreat you upon his account, and again obtain your forgiveneſs; ſuppoſing, I mean, his fault ſhould be ſuch as may become me to intercede, and you to pardon. Farewel.

LETTER XXII. *To* SEVERUS.

I HAVE been much alarmed by the ill ſtate of health of Paſſienus Paulus, as indeed I had many and juſt reaſons. He has a moſt excellent and generous heart, of which I have the happineſs to ſhare the warmeſt friendſhip. In his writings he very ſucceſsfully emulates the ancients, whoſe ſpirit and manner he has cloſely imitated and happily reſtored; eſpecially that of Propertius, to whom he is no leſs related by genius, than by blood, as he particularly reſembles that poet in his chief excellency. When you read his elegies, all that is elegant, tender, and pleaſing, will conſpire to charm you; and you will clearly diſcover they are animated with the congenial ſpirit of Propertius. He has lately made ſome attempts of the lyric kind, in which he as ſucceſsfully copies the manner of Horace,

race, as he has that of the other poet juſt mentioned. You would imagine, were there ſuch a thing as kindred in genius, that the blood of Horace likewiſe flowed in his veins. He diſplays a moſt wonderful compaſs and pregnancy of imagination: when he deſcribes the paſſion of love, you perceive his heart is entirely poſſeſſed by the moſt tender ſentiments; when he paints the emotions of grief, you ſee his breaſt is penetrated with the deepeſt ſorrow; when he enters upon topics of panegyric, it is with all the ardour of the warmeſt benevolence; when he diverts himſelf with ſubjects of pleaſantry, it is in the ſpirit of the moſt agreeable gaiety; in ſhort, whatever kind of poetry he engages in, he executes it with ſuch a maſterly hand, that one would imagine it was the ſingle ſpecies to which he had applied himſelf. The dangerous indiſpoſition of ſuch a friend and ſuch a genius, occaſion'd as much anxiety to me as it did pain to him. But at length *he* is recovered, and *my* peace is reſtored: an event which deſerves your congratulation, not only for my ſake, but for the ſake of literature itſelf, which was expoſed to as great a hazard by his danger, as it will receive glory by his recovery. Farewel.

LET-

LETTER XXIII. *To* MAXIMUS.

IT has frequently happened when I have been pleading before the centumviri, that thoſe venerable judges, after having preſerved as much as poſſible the gravity and ſolemnity ſuitable to their character, have at length been forced, as it were, to break thro' all reſtraints, and have riſen up, with one conſent, in my applauſe. I have often likewiſe gained as much glory in the ſenate, as my utmoſt wiſhes could deſire: but I never felt a more ſenſible pleaſure than by an account which I lately received from Cornelius Tacitus. He informed me, that at the laſt Circenſian games, he ſat next to a certain perſon, who, after much diſcourſe had paſſed between them upon various points of erudition, aſked him if he was an Italian, or a provincial? Tacitus replied, "Your acquaintance with literature muſt have "informed you, who I am." "Pray then, is "it Tacitus or Pliny I am talking with?" I cannot expreſs how highly I am pleaſed to find that our names are not ſo much the proper appellatives of men, as a kind of diſtinction for learning herſelf; and that eloquence renders us known to thoſe, who would be ignorant of us by any other means. An accident of the ſame

nature happened to me a few days ago. Fabius Rufinus, a perſon of diſtinguiſhed merit, was placed next to me at table; and below him a countryman of his, who was juſt then come to Rome for the firſt time. Rufinus deſired his friend to take notice of me, and entered into a converſation concerning the object of my ſtudies: to whom the other immediately replied, "That "muſt undoubtedly then be Pliny." To own the truth, I look upon theſe inſtances as a very conſiderable recompence of my labours. Had Demoſthenes reaſon to be pleaſed with the old woman of Athens exclaiming [a], "This is De-"moſthenes!" and may I not be allowed to congratulate myſelf upon the extenſive reputation my name has acquired? Yes, my friend, I will rejoice in it, and without ſcruple confeſs that I do. As I only mention the judgement of others, not my own,

[a] The ſtory as related by Tully, is this: Demoſthenes met an old woman carrying a pail of water, upon which ſhe whiſpers to her companion, "This is Demoſthenes!" I muſt not, however, conceal from the reader, that Tully condemns the Grecian orator for being pleaſed upon this occaſion, and accounts for it in the true ſpirit of genuine philoſophy *, *apud alios loqui videlicet didicerat, non multum ipſe ſecum:* he had learnt the art of talking to others, but was unacquainted, it ſeems, with the moſt inſtructive of all arts, the art of *ſelf-converſe:* a little of this home-philoſophy would have taught him, in the judgement of Tully, to rate *vulgar* admiration at a lower value.

* Tuſc. l. 5.

own, I am not afraid of incurring the cenſure of vanity[b]; eſpecially from you, who, as you envy no

[b] Thoſe who have formed their notions of *modeſty* according to the falſe refinements in manners, which latter times have introduced, will take offence, probably, at the advantageous terms, in which Pliny here, and in ſome other paſſages of theſe letters, ſpeaks of himſelf. But it will not be juſt to eſtimate our author's character, by maxims which have been received in the world long ſince he left it. It is moſt certain, that modeſty, according to the idea the ancients had of it, did not (neither in the truth of things does it) forbid a man to ſpeak well of himſelf, where he has merit to ſupport the character he claims. True modeſty conſiſted only (as indeed it ought only to conſiſt) in being *aſhamed* to commit any thing baſe and unworthy; any thing unbecoming the dignity of human nature; any thing in defiance of that reverence we owe to ourſelves, and to that rank we hold in the order of rational beings: ſhe was in ſhort, the *cuſtos virtutum omnium*, as Tully emphatically calls her, the guardian and protectreſs of the whole train of human virtues. Pliny, who often recommends *modeſty* as one of the moſt ſhining virtues in others, could never have ſpoken thus favourably of his own merit, if it had been contrary to the received notions of that moſt amiable quality. And that it was not, is extremely evident from the whole tenour of antiquity in the article of ſelf-commendation. Homer's Ulyſſes (to borrow the obſervation of a very polite and judicious critic) "calls himſelf the *wiſeſt* "of the Grecians, as his Achilles does not ſcruple to repre-"ſent himſelf the *beſt and moſt valiant* of them; and that "too in a council of all the princes: Virgil has given us "his approbation of both the one and the other, in making "Æneas talk frequently of his own piety and valour. So-"crates in Plato, is always brought in to his advantage; he "himſelf quotes the oracle, which pronounced him to be "the *wiſeſt of men*. Xenophon repreſents Cyrus, upon his "death-bed, as taking notice of the greateſt beauty of his "own character, his humanity; in a piece which every one "knows was deſigned for the character of a perfect prince. "Cæſar and the great Jewiſh writer of his own life frequently "commend themſelves: the greateſt critic, as well as the "greateſt orator among the Romans, who ſo often reckons "*Modeſty* among the things which are moſt neceſſary toward "rendering

no man's reputation, ſo you are particularly zealous for mine. Farewel.

LETTER XXIV. *To* SABINIANUS.

I Greatly approve of your having, in compliance with my [a] letter, received again into your family and favour, a diſcarded freedman, whom you once admitted into a ſhare of your affection. This placability will afford you, I doubt not, great ſatisfaction: it certainly at leaſt has me, both as a proof that you are capable of being governed in your paſſion, and as an inſtance of your paying ſo much regard to me, as to yield either to my authority, or to my requeſt. You will accept, therefore, at once, both of my applauſe and my thanks. At the ſame time I muſt adviſe you, to be diſpoſed for the future to pardon the faults of your people, tho' there ſhould be none to intercede in their behalf. Farewel.

" rendering a man great in his profeſſion; how open and " frequent is he in praiſing himſelf, and ſetting his own " merit in a true light? But what puts this beyond diſpute " (and ſhews at the ſame time, that a juſt commendation of " one's ſelf may be very conſiſtent with the greateſt modeſty) " is to be found in the ſacred writings, in which Moſes ſays " of himſelf, that he was the *meekeſt man upon earth.*" Eſſay on Pope's Odyſ. pt. 1. 52.

[a] See Let. 21 of this book.

LET-

LETTER XXV. *To* MAMILIANUS.

THO' you complain of the crowd of military occupations which preſs upon you, yet, as if you were enjoying the moſt uninterrupted leiſure, you read and admire, it ſeems, my poetical trifles; and not a little encourage me to perſevere in amuſing compoſitions of that kind. I begin, indeed, to purſue this ſort of ſtudy, not only with a view to my diverſion, but my reputation, ſince they have approved themſelves to the judgement of a man of your dignity and learning, and what is more, of your ſincerity. At preſent I have ſome buſineſs in the courts of law, which takes up a little of my time; but as ſoon as I ſhall have diſpatched it, I will again truſt my muſe to your candid boſom. You will ſuffer my little doves and ſparrows to take wing among your eagles [a], if you ſhould have the ſame good opinion of them as they have of themſelves; if not, you will kindly confine them to their cage and their neſts. Farewel.

[a] Alluding to the Roman ſtandard, which was an eagle fix'd upon the top of a ſpear.

LET-

LETTER XXVI. *To* LUPERCUS.

I Said once (and I think not improperly) of a certain orator of the preſent age, whoſe compoſitions are extremely regular and correct, but by no means animated and ſublime, "His only fault "is, that he has none." Whereas he who is poſſeſſed of the true ſpirit of oratory, ſhould be bold and daring; ſhould ſometimes riſe above the preciſe limits of common rules; and frequently ſoar even to dangerous heights: for danger is generally near whatever is towering and exalted. The Plain, 'tis true, affords a ſafer, but for that reaſon a more humble and inglorious path: they who run, are more likely to ſtumble than they who creep; but the latter gain no honour by not ſlipping, while the former even fall with glory. It is with eloquence as with ſome other arts; ſhe is never more pleaſing than when ſhe riſks moſt. Have you not obſerved what acclamations our rope-dancers excite, at the inſtant of imminent danger? Whatever is moſt ſurprizingly hazardous, or as the Greeks better expreſs it, whatever is moſt *perilous*, moſt excites our admiration. The pilot's ſkill is by no means equally proved in a calm, as in a ſtorm: in the former caſe he tamely enters the port, unnoticed and

and unapplauded; but when the cordage cracks, the maſt bends, and the rudder groans, then it is that he ſhines, in all his glory, and is hailed as little inferiour to a ſea-god. The reaſon of making theſe obſervations is, becauſe, if I miſtake not, you have marked ſome paſſages in my writings for being tumid, exuberant, and over-wrought, which, in my eſtimation, are but adequate to the idea, or boldly ſublime. It is material therefore to conſider, whether your criticiſm turns upon ſuch points as are real faults, or only ſtriking and remarkable expreſſions. Whatever is elevated is ſure to be obſerved; but it requires a very nice judgement to diſtinguiſh the bounds between true and falſe grandeur; between a juſt and enormous height. To give an inſtance out of Homer, both of the grand and elevated ſtyle, in the following lines, which can ſcarcely, I imagine, have eſcaped any reader's obſervation;

Heav'n in loud thunder bids the trumpet ſound;
And wide beneath them groans the rending ground [a].

———Again,

Reclin'd on clouds his ſteed and armor lay [b].

So

[a] Iliad. xxi. 387. Pope's tranſ.
[b] Iliad. v. 356. ſpeaking of Mars.

So in this whole paſſage:

[c] *As torrents roll, increas'd by numerous rills,*
With rage impetuous down their echoing hills,
Ruſh to the vales, and pour'd along the plain,
Roar thro' a thouſand channels to the main.

It requires, I ſay, a very delicate hand to poiſe theſe metaphors, and determine whether they are too figurative and pompous, or truly majeſtic and ſublime. Not that I think any thing which I have written or can write, admits of compariſon with theſe. I am not extravagant enough to entertain ſo proud an opinion: what I would be underſtood to contend for is, that we ſhould throw up the reins to eloquence, nor curb the ſpirited exertions

[c] Iliad. 4. v. 452. Pope's tranſl. It is with great judgement Pliny diſtinguiſhes between *grandeur* and *elevation*, which tho' they are ſometimes confounded, are moſt certainly diſtinct. Grandeur ſeems to conſiſt entirely in the ſentiment, and is the firſt of the five ſpecies of ſublimity which * Longinus has enumerated. The paſſage that admired critic quotes from the account which Moſes gives of the creation, is of this kind: *God ſaid, Let there be Light; and there was Light.* Here is nothing in the expreſſion ornamented or elevated; the language is plain and ſimple, yet conveys to the mind the nobleſt idea of omnipotence that the utmoſt efforts of the ſtrongeſt imagination can conceive. But when a ſublime thought is cloathed (if I may ſo ſay) in all the graceful propriety of juſt figure, it then becomes elevated. The illuſtrations which our author produces from Homer, are of this ſort, where greatneſs of ſentiment is heightened by beauty of imagery.

* Sect. 8.

exertions of genius by too much reſtraint. But it will be ſaid, perhaps, there is a wide difference between orators and poets. As if Tully were not as bold in his figures as any of the poets! Not to mention particular inſtances from him, in an article concerning which, I imagine, there can be no diſpute; does [a] Demoſthenes himſelf, that model and ſtandard of true oratory, does Demoſthenes check and repreſs the fire of his indignation, in that well-known paſſage which begins thus: "Ye infamous flatterers, ye evil genii, &c.?"—And again, "It is neither with ſtones nor bricks "that I have fortified this city, &c."—And afterwards; "I have *thrown* up theſe *out-works* before "Attica, and pointed out to you all the reſources "which human prudence can ſuggeſt, &c."—And in another place; "O my countrymen, I ſwear by "the immortal Gods, that he is *intoxicated* with the "ſpirit of his own magnanimous actions, &c."—But what can be more daring and beautiful than that

[a] The deſign of Pliny in this letter is, to juſtify the figurative expreſſions he had employed, probably in ſome oration, by inſtances of the ſame warmth of colouring from thoſe great maſters of eloquence, Demoſthenes and his rival Æſchines. But the force of the paſſages which he produces from theſe orators, muſt neceſſarily be greatly weakened to a mere modern reader, ſome of them being only hinted at, as generally well known; and the metaphors in ſeveral of the others, have either loſt much of their original ſpirit and boldneſs, by being introduced and received in common language, or cannot, perhaps, be preſerved in an Engliſh tranſlation.

that long digreſſion, which begins in this manner: "A terrible diſeaſe, O my countrymen, has ſeized "upon all Greece, &c.?"—The following paſſage likewiſe, tho' ſomewhat ſhorter, is conceived in the ſame boldneſs of metaphor:—"Then it was I roſe "up in oppoſition to the daring Pytho, who *poured* "*forth a torrent* of menaces againſt you, &c."—The ſubſequent ſtricture is of the ſame ſtamp: "When a man has ſtrengthened himſelf, as Philip "has, by rapine and wickedneſs, upon the firſt "pretence that offers, at the firſt impolitic ſtep, be "it ever ſo inconſiderable, *he briſtles up his mane*, "and ſeizes all, &c."—So in the ſame ſtile with the foregoing is this: —"*Railed off*, as it were, "from the privileges of ſociety, by the concurrent "and juſt judgements of the three tribunals in the "city."—And in the ſame place: "O Ariſtogi-"ton! you have *betrayed* that mercy which uſed "to be ſhewn to offences of this nature, or rather "indeed, you have wholly *deſtroyed* it. In vain "then would you flee for refuge to a *port*, which "you have *ſhut up*, and *choaked with piles*."—He had ſaid before; "I am afraid therefore, you ſhould "appear in the judgement of ſome, to have *erected* "*a public ſeminary* of faction: for there is a "weakneſs in all wickedneſs, which renders it "apt to betray itſelf!"—And a little lower; "I "ſee none of theſe reſources open to him; but

" all is *precipice, gulph*, and *profound abyſs*."—And again: " Nor do I imagine that our anceſtors in-" ſtituted thoſe courts of judicature, that men of " his character ſhould be *planted* there; but on the " contrary, *eradicated*, that none may emulate their " evil actions."—And afterwards: " If he is then " the *artificer* of every wickedneſs, if he openly " makes it his *trade and traffic*, &c."—And a thouſand other paſſages which I might cite to the ſame purpoſe; not to mention thoſe expreſſions which Æſchines ſays, are not words, but *wonders*.—You will tell me, perhaps, I have unwarily mentioned Æſchines, ſince Demoſthenes is condemn'd even by him, for running into theſe figurative expreſſions. But obſerve, I intreat you, how far ſuperiour the former orator is to his criticizer, and ſuperiour too in the very paſſages to which he objects; for in others, the ſtrength of his genius diſcovers itſelf; in thoſe above quoted, the ſublimity of it ſhines out. But does Æſchines himſelf avoid that mode of rhetoric which he reproves in Demoſthenes? " The orator," ſays he, " O ye Athe-" nians, and the law, ought to *ſpeak* the ſame " language; but when the *voice* of the law de-" clares one thing, and that of the orator ano-" ther, we ſhould give our vote to the juſtice of " the law, not to the impudence of the orator."—And in another place: " He afterwards mani-

" feſtly

" feſtly diſcovered the deſign he had, of con-
" cealing his fraud under cover of the decree, hav-
" ing expreſsly declared therein, that the embaſſa-
" dors ſent to the Oretæ gave the five talents, not
" to you, but to Callias. And that you may be
" convinced what I ſay is the truth (after having
" *ſtripped* the decree of its *gallies*, its *trim*, and
" its arrogant oſtentation) read the clauſe itſelf."—
And in another part: " Suffer him not to *break*
" *cover* and *eſcape* out of the limits of the queſ-
" tion." A metaphor he is ſo fond of, that he re-
peats it again; " But remaining firm and confi-
" dent in the aſſembly, *drive* him into the merits of
" the queſtion, and obſerve well how he *doubles*."—
Is his ſtile more reſerved and ſimple, when he ſays:
" But you are for ever *wounding* our ears, and are
" more concerned in the ſucceſs of your daily ha-
" rangues, than for the ſalvation of the city."—
What follows is conceived in a yet higher ſtrain of
figure: " Will you not expel this man as the
" common calamity of Greece? will you not ſeize
" and puniſh this *pirate* of the ſtate, who *ſails* about
" in queſt of favourable conjunctures? &c."—
with many other paſſages of the like nature.

And now I expect you will make the ſame attacks upon certain expreſſions in this letter, as you did upon thoſe I have been endeavouring to defend. The

rudder that *groans*, and the pilot compared to a *ſea-god*, will not, I ſuppoſe, eſcape your criticiſm: for I perceive, while I am ſuing for indulgence to my former ſtile, I have fallen into the ſame kind of figurative diction which you condemn. But attack them if you pleaſe, provided you will immediately appoint a day when we may meet to diſcuſs theſe matters in perſon: you will then, either teach *me* to be leſs daring, or I ſhall learn *you* to be more bold. Farewel.

LETTER XXVII. *To* LATERANUS.

I Have had many occaſions to obſerve the power, the dignity, the majeſty, and I will add too, even the *divine* efficacy there is in hiſtory; but I never met with ſo ſtrong an inſtance of it as lately. An author had recited part of an hiſtorical performance, which he had drawn up with the utmoſt regard to truth, reſerving the remainder for another reading. When behold! the friends of a certain perſon came to him, and earneſtly conjured him not to recite the reſt; ſo much were they aſhamed to hear thoſe actions repeated, which yet they did not bluſh to commit! The hiſtorian complied with their requeſt; as he honourably might.

Nevertheleſs, both the hiſtory and the action ſtill remain, and will ever remain and be read. It will be read too with ſo much the greater curioſity, as the publication is delayed: for nothing raiſes the inquiſitive diſpoſition of mankind ſo much, as to defer its gratification. Farewel.

LETTER XXVIII. *To* ROMANUS.

YOUR letters have at length reached me, and I received three at once; all moſt elegantly written, and in the warmeſt ſpirit of friendſhip; in ſhort, ſuch as I had reaſon to expect from you, eſpecially after having wiſhed for them ſo long. In one, you enjoin me the very agreeable commiſſion of forwarding your letter to that excellent lady, the virtuous [a] Plotina: I have forwarded them.

[a] Plotina was conſort to the emperor Trajan. Her virtues are celebrated by ſeveral hiſtorians, and our author draws a moſt amiable character of her in few words, in his noble * panegyric upon that prince. He repreſents her (and he could not give a higher idea of her merit) as worthy the choice of that excellent emperor; of a ſanctity of manners worthy of ancient Rome; plain in her habit, modeſt in her equipage, and polite in her addreſs. She greatly contributed, it is † ſaid, to the wiſe choice which Trajan made of a ſucceſſor; and Adrian, in gratitude for her good offices to him in that election, dedicated a magnificent temple to her memory, at Niſmes in Languedoc: the remains of which are ſtill to be § ſeen.

* Plin. Paneg. No. 83. † Eutrop. L. 8. c. 6.
§ Montfauc. Diar. p. 4.

In the ſame letter you recommend to me Popilius Artemiſius; and accordingly I have performed his requeſt. You tell me alſo your vintage has proved extremely moderate. That complaint, notwithſtanding we are ſeparated by ſuch diſtant countries, is common to us both. Your ſecond letter informs me, that you are employed in dictating and writing upon a ſubject, wherein you have me ſtrongly in view. I am much obliged to you; and ſhould be more ſo, if you would give me the pleaſure of reading your performance. It is but juſt indeed, that as I communicate to you all my compoſitions, you ſhould ſuffer me to partake of yours, even tho' they ſhould turn upon ſubjects which concern others. You promiſe me in the cloſe of this letter, that as ſoon as you ſhall be informed with certainty, in what manner I intend to diſpoſe of myſelf, you will make an elopement from your family, and immediately fly to me: I am already preparing certain chains for you, which, when I have you here, you will by no means be able to break. I learn from your third, that my oration in behalf of Clarius has been delivered to you, and that it appears more full than when you heard it pronounced. It is ſo, I confeſs; for I afterwards very conſiderably enlarged it.

it. You mention having ſent me another letter, which you ſay was written with peculiar conſideration, and deſire to know if I have received it: I have not, but impatiently wait its arrival. In the mean while write to me by every opportunity, and pay me for this delay with intereſt, which I ſhall compute at the higheſt rate: for tell me, can you expect I ſhould acquit you upon cheaper terms? Farewel.

LETTER XXIX. *To* RUSTICUS.

AS it is better to excel in any ſingle art, than to arrive only at mediocrity in ſeveral; ſo, a moderate ſkill in ſeveral is to be preferr'd, where one cannot attain to perfection in any. Upon this maxim it is, that I have attempted compoſitions of various ſorts, as I could not expect to carry any particular one to its higheſt excellency. I hope, therefore, when you read any performance of mine, you will conſider it with that indulgence which is due to an author, who has not confined himſelf to a ſingle ſubject, but has ſtruck out into different kinds of compoſition. In every other ſort of workmanſhip, the number pleads ſome excuſe for the deficiencies of the artiſt; and

ſhall

ſhall works of literature, the moſt difficult of all others, be tried by a ſeverer law? But whilſt I am beſpeaking your candour, am I not bringing my gratitude in queſtion? For, if you receive theſe laſt pieces with the ſame indulgence that you have all my former, I have more reaſon to hope for your praiſe, than to ſue for your pardon: your pardon, however, will be ſufficient. Farewel.

LETTER XXX. *To* GEMINIUS.

YOU have frequently in converſation, and lately in a letter, commended your friend Nonius to me for his great liberality to certain particular perſons: I ſhall join with you in applauding him, if his bounty is not confined to thoſe only whom you mention. I would have *Him* who deſires to ſhew himſelf influenced by a ſpirit of true generoſity, be liberal to his country, his kindred, his relations, and his friends; his friends, I mean, in diſtreſs: not like thoſe who chiefly beſtow their preſents, where there is the greateſt ability to make returns. I do not look upon ſuch men as parting with any thing of their own; on the contrary, I conſider their bounties as only ſo many diſguiſed baits, thrown out with a deſign of catching the property of others. Much of the

ſame

ſame character are thoſe, who take from one man in order to beſtow on another, and aim at a reputation for munificence by ſordid means. The firſt and fundamental principle of genuine beneficence, is to be contented with one's own; and after that, to cheriſh and embrace all the moſt indigent of every kind, in one comprehenſive circle of general benevolence. If your friend obſerves this rule in its full extent, he is entirely to be commended; if he only partially purſues it, ſtill he deſerves (in a leſs degree indeed, however, he deſerves) praiſe: ſo uncommon is it to meet with an inſtance of generoſity even of the moſt imperfect kind! The luſt of avarice has ſo totally ſeized upon mankind, that their wealth ſeems rather to poſſeſs them, than they to poſſeſs their wealth. Farewel.

LETTER XXXI. *To* SARDUS.

I Still continued to enjoy your company, even after we had parted; for I entertained myſelf with reading your book. And I frequently peruſed, with particular complacency, (I honeſtly own it) thoſe paſſages of which I am the ſubject: a ſubject upon which, indeed, you have been extremely copious. With what a variety of expreſſion, and in how many different lights have you placed the ſame

ſame ſentiments concerning the ſame perſon? Will you ſuffer me to mingle my applauſes with my acknowledgments? I can do neither, ſufficiently; and if I could, there would be ſomewhat, I fear, of vanity, in making that perſon the ſubject of my praiſe, which is, in truth, the object of my thanks. I will only add then, that I thought your compliments to me raiſed the merit of your performance; as the merit of your performance heightened the pleaſure of your compliments. Farewel.

LETTER XXXII. *To* TITIANUS.

WHAT are you doing? And what do you propoſe to do? as for myſelf, I paſs my life in the moſt agreeable, that is, in the moſt diſengaged manner imaginable. I do not find myſelf therefore in the humour to write a long letter, tho' I am to read one. I am too much a man of indolence for the former, and juſt idle enough for the latter: for none are more indolent, you know, than your fine gentlemen, or have more curioſity than thoſe who have nothing to do. Farewel.

LET-

LETTER XXXIII. *To* CANINIUS.

I Have met with a ſtory, which tho' it is authenticated by undoubted evidence, has all the air of fable, and would afford a very proper ſubject for the exerciſe of your truly poetical and ſublime genius. It was related to me the other day at table, where the converſation happened to turn upon various kinds of extraordinary events. The perſon who gave the account, was a man of unſuſpected veracity:—but what has a poet to do with truth? However, you might venture to rely upon his teſtimony, even tho' you had the character of a faithful hiſtorian to ſupport. There is in Africa a town called Hippo, ſituated not far from the ſea-coaſt: it ſtands upon a navigable lake, from whence a river runs into the main ocean, and ebbs and flows with the ſea. Perſons of all ages divert themſelves here with fiſhing, ſailing or ſwimming; eſpecially boys, whom love of play and idleneſs bring hither. The conteſt among them is, who ſhall have the glory of ſwimming fartheſt; and he that leaves the ſhore and his companions at the greateſt diſtance, gains the victory. It happened in one of theſe trials of ſkill, that a certain boy, more bold than the reſt, launched out towards the oppoſite

oppoſite ſhore. He was met by a dolphin [a], who ſometimes ſwam before him, and ſometimes behind him, then played round him, and at laſt took him upon his back, then ſet him down, and afterwards took him up again; and thus he carried the poor frighted boy out into the deepeſt part; when immediately he turns back again to the ſhore, and lands him among his companions. The fame of this remarkable event ſpread thro' the town, and crowds of people flocked round the boy (whom they viewed as a kind of prodigy) to aſk him queſtions and hear him relate the ſtory. The next day the ſhore was lined with multitudes of ſpectators, all attentively contemplating the ocean, and (what indeed is almoſt itſelf an ocean) the lake. In the mean while the boys ſwam as uſual, and among the reſt, the youth I am ſpeaking of went into the lake but with more caution than before. The dolphin again appeared and came to the boy, who together with his companions ſwam away with the utmoſt precipitation. The dolphin, as it were, to invite and recal them, leaped and dived up and down, darting about in a thouſand different convolutions. This he practiſed for ſeveral days together,

[a] This animal is celebrated by ſeveral of the ancients for its philanthropy, and Pliny the elder in particular, relates this very ſtory, among other inſtances, in confirmation of that notion. See Plin. hiſt. nat. l. 9. c. 8.

ther, till the people (accuſtomed from their infancy to the ſea) began to be aſhamed of their timidity. They ventured, therefore, to advance nearer, playing with him and calling him to them, while he, in return, ſuffered himſelf to be touched and ſtroked. Uſe rendered them more courageous: the boy, in particular, who firſt had experienced the ſafety, ſwam by the ſide of him, and leaping upon his back, was carried about in that manner: thus they gradually became acquainted and delighted with each other. There ſeemed now, indeed, to be no fear on either ſide, the confidence of the one, and tameneſs of the other mutually increaſing; the reſt of the boys in the meanwhile ſurrounding and encouraging their companion. It is very remarkable, that this dolphin was followed by a ſecond, which ſeemed only as a ſpectator and attendant on the former; for he did not at all ſubmit to the ſame familiarities as the firſt, but only conducted him backwards and forwards, as the boys did their comrade. But what is farther ſurpriſing, and no leſs true than that which I have already related, is, this dolphin who thus played with the boys, and carried them upon his back, would come upon the ſhore, dry himſelf in the ſand, and as ſoon as he grew warm, roll back into the ſea. Octavius Avitus, deputy governour

of

of the province, actuated by an abſurd piece of ſuperſtition, poured [b] ſome precious ointment over him as he lay on the ſhore: the novelty and ſmell of which made him retire into the ocean, and it was not till after ſeveral days that he was ſeen again, when he appeared dull and languid; however he recovered his ſtrength, and continued his uſual playful tricks. All the magiſtrates round the country flocked hither to view this ſight; the entertainment of whom upon their arrival, and during their ſtay, was an additional expence, which the ſlender finances of this little community would ill afford; beſides, that the quiet and retirement of the place was utterly deſtroyed. It was thought proper therefore to remove the occaſion of this concourſe, by privately killing the poor dolphin. And now, with what a flow of tenderneſs will you deſcribe this affecting [c] cataſtrophe! and how

[b] It was a religious ceremony practiſed by the ancients, to pour precious ointments upon the ſtatues of their gods: Avitus, it is probable, imagined this dolphin was ſome ſea-divinity, and therefore expreſſed his veneration of him by the ſolemnity of a ſacred unction.

[c] The overflowing humanity of Pliny's temper breaks out upon all occaſions, but he diſcovers it in nothing more ſtrongly than by the impreſſion which this little ſtory appears to have made upon him. True benevolence, indeed, extends itſelf thro' the whole compaſs of exiſtence, and ſympathizes with the diſtreſs of every creature capable of ſenſation. Little minds

how will your genius adorn and improve the intereſting ſtory! Tho', indeed, the ſubject does not require any fictitious embelliſhments; it will be ſufficient to deſcribe the fact in all its real circumſtances. Farewel.

LETTER XXXIV. *To* TRANQUILLUS.

ASSIST me in ſettling my doubts. I have not, I am told, a good manner of reading verſes: as my talent lies chiefly in reciting orations, I ſucceed ſo much the worſe, it ſeems, in poetry. I deſign therefore, as I am engaged to recite ſome poems to my particular friends, to make uſe of my freedman for that purpoſe. It is an inſtance, I own, of my treating them with little ceremony, that I aſſign this buſineſs to a perſon who is himſelf not very expert in it. However,

minds may be apt to conſider a compaſſion of this inferiour kind, as an inſtance of weakneſs; but it is undoubtedly the evidence of a noble nature. Homer thought it not unbecoming the character even of a Hero, to melt into tears at a diſtreſs of this ſort, and has given us a moſt amiable and affecting picture of Ulyſſes weeping over his faithful dog Argus, when he expires at his feet:

——αυταρ ο νοσφιν ιδων απομοξατο δακρυ.
Ρεια λαθων Ευμαιον ——

Soft pity touch'd the mighty maſter's ſoul;
Adown his cheek the tear unbidden ſtole,
Stole unperceiv'd; he turn'd his head and dry'd
The drop humane.——

Odyſ. xvii. Pope

ever, he will perform, I am ſure, better than I can, provided his fears do not diſconcert him; for he is as novel a reader as I am a poet. Now the queſtion is, how it becomes me to behave while he is diſcharging my office; ſhall I ſit in a fix'd and indolent poſture, or follow him as he pronounces, with my looks, hands, and a low tone of applauſe; in the manner of a certain perſon whom you know? But I am apprehenſive, I can appropriate my [a] geſtures no better than I can read. I repeat it again therefore, you muſt extricate me out of this difficulty, and tell me truely, whether you think it more excuſable to read ill, than to practiſe or omit any of the circumſtances above-mentioned. Farewel.

LET-

[a] In the original it is called *ſaltatio*, which means a motion of the hands accommodated either to one's own, or another's elocution. Our language does not ſupply a proper word for this geſture, as indeed we have too little occaſion to find the want of it; the *chironomic* art, ſo much ſtudied by the ancients, being in the number of thoſe which have been long ſince loſt. But if the * *indoctæ ruſticæve manus*, the aukward and unmeaning diſpoſition of the hands, would have ſpoiled the nobleſt ſpeech at Rome or Athens that Tully or Demoſthenes, in all the warmth of their enlivening eloquence, ever delivered; it would not, perhaps, be time ill employed, if our modern orators would give a little more attention to the graceful management of thoſe eſſential inſtruments of affecting elocution. This becoming art, ſo far as it was connected with maſculine oratory, Pliny, moſt certainly, could not but be well ſkilled in: it is probable therefore, what he ſays in this place, alludes to this *affected manner* which certain authors of his time had fallen into, when they attended the rehearſal of

* Quinctilian.

LETTER XXXV. *To* APPIUS.

I HAVE received your book, and return you my thanks, but am at preſent too much engaged to have time to read it; which, however, I impatiently wiſh to do. I have that high reverence for literature in general, and for your compoſitions in particular, that I think it a ſort of profanation to approach them but with a mind entirely diſengaged.—I extremely approve of your care in reviſing your works; but remember, correctneſs has its limits: too much poliſhing rather weakens than ſtrengthens. Beſides, this exceſſive delicacy, while it obſtructs other purſuits, not only prevents any new attempts, but does not finiſh even what it has begun. Farewel.

of their own works; and that the whole turn of this epiſtle is ironical. This conjecture ſeems ſupported not only by the ſubject of the letter, which is ſcarce of importance enough to bear a ſerious enquiry; but alſo by the expreſſion he ſets out with, viz. *Explica* æſtum *meum*, which ſeems to be of the ludicrous kind.

LETTER XXXVI. *To* Fuscus.

YOU desire to know in what manner I diſpoſe of my time, in my ſummer villa at Tuſcum? I riſe juſt when I find myſelf in the humour, tho' generally with the ſun; ſometimes indeed ſooner, but ſeldom later. When I am up, I continue to keep the ſhutters of my chamber-windows cloſed; as darkneſs and ſilence wonderfully promote meditation. Thus free and abſtracted from thoſe outward objects which diſſipate attention, I am left to my own thoughts; nor ſuffer my mind to wander with my eyes, but keep my eyes in ſubjection to my mind: by theſe means they are not diſtracted with a multiplicity of external objects, and ſee nothing but what the imagination repreſents to them, If I have any compoſition upon my hands, this is the time I chooſe to conſider it, not only with reſpect to the general plan, but even the ſtile and expreſſion, which I reviſe and correct as if I were actually writing. In this manner I compoſe more or leſs as the ſubject is more or leſs difficult, and I find my memory able to retain it. I then call my ſecretary, and, opening the ſhutters, dictate to him what I have compoſed; after which I diſmiſs him for a little while, and then call him in again.

About

About ten or eleven of the clock (for I do not obſerve one fixed hour) according as the weather proves, I either walk upon my terrace, or in the covered portico; and there I continue to meditate or dictate what remains upon the ſubject in which I happen to be engaged. From thence I get into my chariot, where I employ myſelf as before, when I was walking or in my ſtudy; and find this changing of the ſcene refreſhes and enlivens my attention. At my return, I repoſe myſelf; then take a walk, and after that, repeat aloud ſome Greek or Latin oration, not ſo much for the ſake of ſtrengthening my voice [a] as my digeſtion; tho' indeed the power of the voice at the ſame time is improved by this practice. I then walk again, am anointed, take my exerciſes, and go into the bath. At ſupper, if I have only my wife, or a few friends with me, ſome author is redde to us; and after ſupper, we are entertained either with muſic, or an interlude. When that is finiſhed, I take my walk with my family, in the number of which, I am not without ſome perſons of literature. Thus we paſs our evenings in various con-

[a] By the regimen which Pliny here follows, one would imagine, if he had not told us who were his phyſicians, that the celebrated Celſus was in the number. That author expreſsly recommends reading aloud, and afterwards walking, as beneficial in diſorders of the ſtomach; *Si quis ſtomacho laborat, legere clare debet; poſt lectionem ambulare, &c.* Celſi medic. L. 1. c. 8.

verſation; and the day, even when it is at the longeſt, ſteals imperceptibly away. Upon ſome occaſions I change the order in certain of the articles above-mentioned. For inſtance, if I have ſtudied longer or walked more than uſual; after my ſecond ſleep, and reading an oration or two aloud, inſtead of uſing my chariot, I get on horſe-back; by which means I take as much exerciſe, and loſe leſs time. The viſits of my friends from the neighbouring villages claim ſome part of the day; and ſometimes, by an agreeable interruption, they come in very ſeaſonably to relieve me when I am fatigued. I now and then amuſe myſelf with ſporting, but always take my tablets into the field, that if I ſhould not meet with game, I may at leaſt bring home ſomething[b]. Part of my time too, is allotted to my tenants, tho' indeed not ſo much of it as they deſire: and I return from ſettling their ruſtic controverſies with a better reliſh to my ſtudies and more elegant occupations. Farewel.

[b] See B. 1. let. 6. and the note there.

LET-

LETTER XXXVII. *To* PAULINUS.

AS you are not of a diſpoſition to expect from your friends, the common ceremonies of the world, when they cannot obſerve them without inconvenience to themſelves; ſo I too warmly love you to be apprehenſive you will take it unkind, my not waiting upon you on the firſt day of your entrance upon the conſular office; eſpecially as I am detained here by the neceſſity of letting my farms upon long leaſes. I am obliged to enter upon an entire new plan with my tenants: for, under the former leaſes, tho' I made them very conſiderable abatements, they have run greatly in arrear. For this reaſon ſeveral of them have, not only taken no ſort of care to leſſen a debt, which they found themſelves incapable of wholly diſcharging; but even ſeized and conſumed all the produce of the lands, in the belief that it would now be no advantage to themſelves to ſpare it. I muſt therefore obviate this increaſing evil, and endeavour to find out ſome remedy againſt it. The only one I can think of is, not to reſerve my rent in money, but in kind, and ſo place ſome of my ſervants to overlook the tillage, and guard the ſtock; as indeed

there is no ſort of revenue more agreeable to reaſon, than what ariſes from the bounty of the ſoil, the ſeaſons, and the climate. 'Tis true, this method will require great integrity and diligent attendance in the perſon I appoint my bailiff, and put me to the expence of employing many hands. However, I muſt hazard the experiment; and, as in an inveterate diſtemper, try every change of regimen. You ſee, it is not any pleaſurable indulgence that prevents my attending you on the firſt day of your conſulſhip. I ſhall celebrate it nevertheleſs, with as much feſtivity as if I were preſent, and pay my vows for you here, with ſentiments of the warmeſt joy and congratulation. Farewel.

LETTER XXXVIII. *To* SATURNINUS.

YES, I ſincerely applaud your friend Rufus; not becauſe you deſire me; but becauſe I think he highly merits approbation. I have peruſed his very finiſhed performance; to which, tho' my affection for the author added a conſiderable recommendation, yet it did not blind my judgement; for the malicious critic, is not, I truſt, the only judicious reader. Farewel.

LET-

LETTER XXXIX. *To* MUSTIUS.

IN compliance with the advice of the [a] Aruſpices, I intend to rebuild and enlarge the temple of Ceres, which ſtands upon my eſtate. It is indeed a very ancient fabric, and tho' extremely ſmall, yet upon a certain ſtated anniverſary is much frequented. On the 13th of September great numbers of people from all the country round aſſemble there: at which time many affairs are tranſacted, and many vows paid and offered; but there is no ſhelter for them againſt the inclemency of the weather. I think therefore, I ſhall perform an act both of piety and munificence, if at the ſame time that I build a beautiful temple, I add to it a ſpacious portico; the firſt for the ſervice of the Goddeſs, the other for the uſe of the people. I beg you to purchaſe for me four marble pillars, of whatever kind you ſhall think proper; as alſo a quantity of marble for laying the floor and incruſting the walls. You muſt likewiſe either buy a ſtatue of the Goddeſs, or procure one to be made; for, age has maimed, in

[a] The buſineſs of the Aruſpices was, to examine the beaſts which were offered in ſacrifice, and from thence to foretel the ſucceſs of any enterprize.

in ſome parts, the ancient one of wood which ſtands there at preſent. With reſpect to the portico, I do not recollect there is any thing you can ſend me that will be ſerviceable; unleſs you will ſketch me out a plan ſuitable to the ſituation of the place. It is not practicable to build it round the temple, becauſe it is encompaſſed on one ſide by the river, whoſe banks are exceedingly ſteep; and on the other, by the high road. Beyond this road lies a very large meadow, in which the portico may be conveniently enough placed, oppoſite to the temple; unleſs you, who know ſo well how to conquer by art the inconveniencies of nature, can propoſe ſome better plan. Farewel.

LETTER XL. *To* Fuscus.

YOU are much pleaſed, I find, with the account I gave you in my former [a] letter, of the manner in which I ſpend the ſummer ſeaſon at Tuſcum; and deſire to know what alteration I make in my method, when I am at Laurentinum in the winter? None, except abridging myſelf of my ſleep at noon, and employing ſeveral hours both before day-light and after ſun-ſet in ſtudy: but if

[a] See Let. 36. of this book, p. 196.

if any public buſineſs requires my early attendance at Rome, (which in winter very frequently happens) inſtead of having interludes or muſic after ſupper, I meditate upon what I have previouſly dictated, and by often reviſing it in my own mind, fix it the more ſtrongly in my memory. Thus I have given you a general ſketch of my mode of life both in ſummer and winter; to which you may add the intermediate ſeaſons of ſpring and autumn: in theſe, no part of the day is loſt in ſleep or diſſipation as in ſummer; ſo ſome time is gained for buſineſs or ſtudy by the nights being ſhorter than in winter. Farewel.

BOOK the TENTH,

CONTAINING THE

LETTERS

OF

PLINY to TRAJAN,

AND OF

TRAJAN to PLINY.

THE LETTERS OF *PLINY.*

BOOK X.

LETTER[a] I. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

THE pious affection you bore, moſt ſacred Emperor, to your auguſt father; induced you to wiſh it might be late ere you ſucceeded him.

[a] The greater part of the following letters, were written by Pliny during his adminiſtration in the province of Bithynia. They are of a ſtile and character extremely different from thoſe in the preceding collection; whence ſome critics have injudiciouſly infer'd, that they are the production of another hand; not conſidering, that the occaſion neceſſarily required a different *manner*. In letters of buſineſs, as theſe chiefly are, *turn* and *ſentiment* would be foreign and impertinent; politeneſs and elegance of expreſſion being the eſſentials that conſtitute perfection in this kind: and in that view, tho' they may be leſs entertaining, they have not leſs merit than the former. But beſides their particular excellence as letters, they have a farther recommendation as ſo many valuable pieces of hiſtory, by throwing a ſtrong light upon the character of one of the moſt amiable and glorious princes in the Roman annals. Trajan appears throughout, in the moſt ſtriking attitude that a ſovereign can be placed; in the exertion of power to the godlike

him. But the immortal Gods thought proper to haſten the advancement of thoſe virtues to the helm of the commonwealth, which had already ſo ſucceſsfully ſhared in the ſteerage[a]. May *you* then, and the world thro' your means, enjoy every proſperity worthy of your reign: to which let me add my wiſhes, moſt excellent Emperor, upon a private as well as public account, that your health and ſpirits may be preſerved firm and unbroken.

LETTER II. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

YOU have occaſioned me, Sir[b], an inexpreſſible pleaſure, by deeming me worthy of enjoying the privilege which the laws confer on thoſe who have

godlike purpoſes of juſtice and benevolence: and what one of the ancient hiſtorians has ſaid of him, is here eminently verified, that "*he rather choſe to be lov'd than flatter'd by his people.*" To have been diſtinguiſhed by the favour and friendſhip of a monarch of ſo exalted a character, is an honour that reflects the brighteſt luſtre upon our author; as to have been ſerved and celebrated by a miniſter of Pliny's genius and virtues, is the nobleſt monument of glory that could have been raiſed to Trajan.

[a] Nerva, who ſucceeded Domitian, reigned but ſixteen months and a few days. Before his death, he not only adopted Trajan, and named him for his ſucceſſor, but actually admitted him into a ſhare of the government; giving him the titles of *Cæſar*, *Germanicus*, and *Imperator*. Vid. Plin. Paneg.

[b] The tranſlator has ventured to render the appellative *Dominus*, by that of *Sir*, not becauſe he is ſatisfied with the ſtrict propriety of the title, but as thinking it leſs exceptionable than any other our language affords. That Pliny could not intend it as a title of royalty, ſeems evident from ſeveral paſſages in his panegyric, where whenever he uſes it in that ſenſe, he conſtantly includes in it a notion of tyranny. [Vid. Paneg. XLV. No. 4. LV. No. 7. LXXXV. No. 1.] Accordingly

have three children. For, altho' it was from an indulgence to the requeſt of the very worthy Servilianus, diſtinguiſhed by his affectionate attachment to your perſon, that you granted this favour; yet I have the ſatisfaction to find by the words of your reſcript, that you complied the more willingly, as his application was in my behalf. I cannot but look upon myſelf as in poſſeſſion of my utmoſt wiſh, after having thus received, at the entrance of your auſpicious government, ſo diſtinguiſhing a mark of your peculiar regard; at the ſame time that it conſiderably heightens my deſire of leaving a family behind me. I was not intirely without this deſire even in the late moſt wretched times [c], as my two marriages will induce you to believe; but the Gods decreed it better, by reſerving every valuable privilege to the bounty of your generous diſpenſations. And indeed the ſatisfaction of being a father will be ſo much the greater to me *now*, that I can look forward to the enjoyment of that felicity in the full ſecurity of public freedom.

ingly we find Auguſtus refuſing the title of *Dominus*, as conveying an odious idea: *Ut maledictum & opprobrium ſemper exhorruit.* [Suet. in Aug. c. 53.] Beſides, the high ſtile of royalty would ill ſuit with that air of freedom and equality, which ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhes theſe letters of Pliny to Trajan; and the graceful ſimplicity of the Roman Conſul's addreſs, would be loſt in the ſervile forms of a modern courtier. But it appears from a paſſage in Seneca, that the Romans uſed the word *Dominus* as a general title of reſpect: *obvios, ſi nomen non ſuccurrit,* Dominos *appellamus.*—[Sen. ep. 3.] And in that lower ſenſe, Pliny, it ſhould ſeem, here employs it.

[c] Alluding to the execrable reign of Domitian.

LETTER III. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

THE experience, moſt excellent Emperor, I have had of your unbounded generoſity to me, in my own perſon, encourages me to hope I may be yet farther obliged to it, in that of my friends. Voconius Romanus (who was my inſeparable companion and chamber-fellow at ſchool) claims the firſt rank in that number; in conſequence of which I petitioned your ſacred father to promote him to the dignity of the Senatorial order. But the completion of my requeſt is reſerved to your goodneſs; for, his mother had not then advanced, in the manner the law directs, the four hundred thouſand [a] ſeſterces

[a] In the original it is *ſeſtertii quadringinties*, that is, about 320,000 l. ſterling; a ſum ſo immoderate, that the commentators have ſuſpected (and with great reaſon) ſome errour muſt have crept into the text. Buchnerus and Gronovius imagine it ſhould be read *quaterdecies* or *quadragies*; but this ſeems to be ſtill carrying it much too high. The *cenſus ſenatorius*, or the eſtate requiſite to qualify a man to be a member of the ſenate, was, after different regulations, ſettled at length by Auguſtus at 1,200,000 ſeſterces, equal to about 9,600 l. of our money. It probably ſtood thus in Pliny's time; for as it appears by the 19th letter of the firſt book, that the *cenſus equeſtris* was 400,000 ſeſterces, which is juſt the ſum we find it at in the reign of Auguſtus; ſo it will not perhaps be unreaſonable to infer from thence, that the *cenſus ſenatorius* had not yet undergone any alteration ſince the time of that emperor, as they ſeem

ſterces which ſhe engaged to give him, in her letter to the late Emperor your father: This promiſe, however, by my advice ſhe has ſince performed, having conveyed to him a ſufficient eſtate in land, with all the neceſſary formalities. The difficulties therefore being removed which deferred the gratification of our wiſhes, it is with full confidence I venture to aſſure you of the merit of my friend Romanus, heighten'd and adorn'd as it is, not only by the liberal and polite arts, but by his extraordinary tenderneſs to his parents. It is to that virtue he owes the preſent liberality of his mother, as well as his immediate [b] ſucceſſion to his late father's eſtate, and alſo his having been adopted by his father-in-law. To theſe perſonal

 quali-

ſeem to have borne a certain proportion to each other. For theſe reaſons therefore, both the common reading, and the emendation of the above-mentioned critics, is rejected in the tranſlation, and the conjecture of a late * editor adopted, who ſuppoſes it might be *quadringentorum millium*, 400,000 ſeſterces, or about 3,200 l: of our money. It has been queſtioned, whether by this *cenſus ſenatorius* we are to underſtand the yearly income of the eſtate, or only the entire value of it: but the moſt generally received opinion is, that it means the latter, including both real and perſonal.

[b] Meaning, perhaps, that tho' he was under age when his father died, yet he had ſo much confidence in the prudence of Romanus, that he did not appoint him, as uſual, a guardian by his will; but left him to the immediate poſſeſſion of his eſtate.

* Geſnerus.

qualifications, the wealth and rank of his family give an increaſe of luſtre; and I perſuade myſelf it will be ſome additional recommendation, that I am a ſolicitor in his behalf. Let me then intreat you, Sir, to enable me to congratulate Romanus, on ſo deſirable an occaſion; and at the ſame time to indulge an earneſt, and I hope laudable ambition of having it in my power to boaſt, that your favourable regards are extended, not only to myſelf, but to my friend.

LETTER IV. [xx.][a] *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

WHEN by your gracious indulgence, Sir, I was appointed to preſide at the [b] treaſury of Saturn, I immediately renounced all engagements

[a] *N. B.* The following letters to the 30th, are not ranged in the ſame order as they are placed in any of the Latin editions; the tranſlator having taken the liberty of changing their ſituation, for the ſake of bringing ſome letters together which throw a light upon each other. The figures included between this mark [ ] refer to the order in which they commonly ſtand.

[b] The public treaſure was kept in the temple of Saturn, where the ſpoils of the conquered nations were depoſited. Julius Cæſar ſeized upon this temple in the time of the civil war; and what an immenſe wealth that plunder threw into his hands, may be judged by the elegant deſcription which Lucan gives of the riches it contained:

——— *tunc*

gagements of the bar, (as indeed, I never blended buſineſs of that kind with the functions of the ſtate) that no avocations might call off my attention from the duties of that poſt to which I was promoted. For this reaſon, when the province of Africa petitioned the ſenate, that I might be permitted to undertake

——— *tunc conditus imo*
Eruitur templis, multis intactus ab annis
Romani cenſus populi, &c.

LUCAN. iii. 155.

At length the ſacred ſtorehouſe open laid,
The hoarded wealth of ages paſt diſplay'd:
There might be ſeen the ſums proud Carthage ſent,
Her long impending ruin to prevent;
There heap'd the Macedonian treaſures ſhone,
What great Flaminius and Æmilius won
From vanquiſh'd Philip, and his hapleſs ſon.
There lay what flying Pyrrhus loſt, the gold
Scorn'd by the * patriot's honeſty of old;
Whate'er our parſimonious ſires could ſave:
What tributary gifts rich Syria gave;
The hundred Cretan cities ample ſpoil;
What Cato gather'd from the Cyprian iſle.
Riches of captive kings by Pompey borne
In happier days his triumph to adorn,
From utmoſt India, and the riſing morn;
Wealth infinite! ROWE.

Pliny the elder has given a † particular valuation of this treaſure which Cæſar ſeized, both in gold and ſilver plate, and in coin; the amount of which, according to Dr. Arbuthnot's computation, is,—1,093,979 l. 3 s. 4 d. But if there is no miſtake in theſe ſums, Cæſar did not take away by far ſo much as he brought in; for Plutarch relates ‡, that he placed at one time in the treaſury, 65,000 talents; which, according to the ſame ingenious author's calculation, is equivalent to £2,593,750 pounds. Arb. Tab. 191.

* Fabricius. † Hiſt. Nat. l. 33. c. 3. ‡ In vit. Cæſar.

dertake their cauſe againſt Marius Priſcus, I excuſed myſelf from that office; and accordingly my excuſe was allowed. But when afterwards, the conſul elect propoſed, that the ſenate ſhould apply to us again, and endeavour to prevail with us to yield to its inclinations, and ſuffer our names to be thrown into the [a] urn; I thought it moſt ſuitable to that tranquillity and good order which ſo happily diſtinguiſhes your times, not to oppoſe (eſpecially in ſo reaſonable an article) the will of that auguſt aſſembly. And, as I am deſirous that all my words and actions may receive the ſanction of your exemplary virtue, I hope you will approve of my compliance.

[a] Other ſenators, as well as Pliny, had excuſed themſelves, it ſeems, from undertaking the management of this cauſe; it was propoſed therefore, that they ſhould caſt lots; which is the meaning of "ſuffering their names to be thrown into an "urn;" an urn being made uſe of in deciſions of this kind. Accordingly, the lot fell upon our author, and his great friend the famous Cornelius Tacitus. See B. 2. let. 11. where there is a full account of this trial

LETTER V. [xxi.] *The Emperor* TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

YOU acted as became a good citizen and a worthy ſenator, by paying obedience to the juſt requiſition of that auguſt aſſembly: and I have full confidence you will faithfully diſcharge the buſineſs you have undertaken.

LETTER VI. [iv.] *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

HAving been attacked laſt year by a ſevere and dangerous illneſs, I employed a [a] phyſician, whoſe care and diligence, Sir, I cannot ſufficiently reward, but by your gracious aſſiſtance. I intreat you therefore to make him a [b] denizen of Rome; for as he is the freedman of a foreigner, he is, conſequently, himſelf alſo a foreigner. His name is

[a] The phyſicians among the ancients were diſtinguiſhed according to the particular branch of practice to which they confined themſelves. The phyſician here mentioned, Pliny calls *Iatraliptes*, that is, one who applied external unctions.

[b] There was a difference between the *Jus Civitatis* and the *Jus Quiritium*; the former not extending to the ſame privileges as the latter, which comprehended whatever advantages a free native of Rome was entitled to: juſt in the ſame manner as with us there is a diſtinction between denization and naturalization.

Harpocras: his patroneſs (who has been dead a conſiderable time) was Thermuthis the daughter of Theon. I farther intreat you to beſtow the full privileges of a Roman citizen upon Helia and Antonia Harmeris the freedwomen of Antonia Maximilla, a lady of great merit. It is at her deſire[a] I make this requeſt.

LETTER VII. [xxii.] *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

I Return you thanks, Sir, for your ready compliance with my deſire, in granting the complete privileges of a Roman, to the freedwomen of a lady to whom I am allied; and alſo for making Harpocras my phyſician a denizen of Rome. But when, agreeably to your directions, I gave in an account of his age and eſtate, I was informed by thoſe who are better ſkilled in theſe affairs than I pretend to be, that as he is an Ægyptian, I ought to have previouſly obtained for him the freedom of Alexandria, before he was made free of Rome. I confeſs, indeed, that as I was ignorant of any difference in this caſe between

[a] Pliny mentions his requeſt to be at the particular deſire of Maximilla, becauſe nothing of this kind could legally be granted to a freedman, without the conſent of his patron; a name which was given to the maſter of a ſlave whom he had emancipated.

between thoſe of[a] Egypt and other countries, I contented myſelf with only acquainting you, that he had been manumized by a foreign lady, long ſince deceaſed. However, it is an ignorance I cannot regret, ſince it affords me an opportunity of receiving from you a double obligation in favour of the ſame perſon. That I may legally therefore enjoy the benefit of your goodneſs, I beg you would be pleaſed to grant him the freedom of the city of Alexandria, as well as that of Rome. And that your gracious intentions may not meet with any farther obſtacles, I have taken care, as you directed, to ſend an account to your freedman of his age and poſſeſſions.

LETTER VIII. [xxiii.] *The Emperor* TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

IT is my reſolution, in purſuance of the maxim obſerved by the princes my predeceſſors, to be extremely cautious in granting the freedom of the city of Alexandria; however, ſince you have obtained from me the freedom of Rome for your phyſician

[a] Upon what occaſion the honour of this peculiar diſtinction was granted in favour of Alexandria does not appear; poſſibly it might be in gratitude to a country to which the Romans were ſo highly obliged, being ſupplied with the greateſt part of their corn from Egypt. This city, founded by Alexander the great, was eſteemed the moſt conſiderable in the world next to that of Rome. It is now called *Scanderick*.

ſician Harpocras, I cannot refuſe you this other requeſt. You muſt let me know to what diſtrict he belongs, that I may give you a letter to my good friend Pompeius Planta, governour of Egypt.

LETTER IX. [v.] *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

I Cannot expreſs, Sir, the pleaſure your letter gave me, by which I am informed that you have made my phyſician Harpocras a denizen of Alexandria; notwithſtanding your reſolution to follow the maxim of your predeceſſors in this point, by being extremely cautious in granting that privilege. Agreeably to your directions, I acquaint you that Harpocras belongs to the diſtrict of [a] Memphis. I intreat you then, moſt gracious Emperor, to ſend me as you promiſed, a letter to your good friend Pompeius Planta, governour of Egypt.

As I purpoſe (in order to have the earlieſt enjoyment of your preſence, ſo ardently wiſhed for here) to go to meet you; I beg, Sir, you would permit me to extend my journey as far as poſſible.

[a] One of the four governments of Lower Egypt.

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LETTER X. [vi.] *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

IN my late indiſpoſition, I was greatly obliged, Sir, to Poſthumius Marinus, my phyſician; and I cannot make him a ſuitable return, but by the aſſiſtance of your gracious indulgence. I intreat you then to make Chryſippus Mithridates and his wife Stratonica, (who are related to Marinus) denizens of Rome. I implore likewiſe the ſame privilege in favour of Epigonus and Mithridates, the two ſons of Chryſippus; but with this reſtriction,[a] that they may remain under the dominion of their father, and yet preſerve their right of patronage over their own freedmen. I farther intreat

[a] The extenſive power of paternal authority, was (as has been obſerved in the notes above) peculiar to the Romans; but after Chryſippus was made a denizen of Rome, he was not, it ſhould ſeem, conſequentially entitled to that privilege over thoſe children which were born before his denization. On the other hand, if it was expreſsly granted him, his children could not preſerve their right of patronage over their own freedmen, becauſe that right would of courſe devolve to their father, by means of this acquired dominion over them. The denization therefore of his children, is as expreſsly ſolicited as his own. But both parties becoming *Quirites*, the children by this creation, and not pleading in right of their father, would be *patres fam.* To prevent which, the clauſe is added, *ita ut ſint in patris poteſtate*; as there is another to ſave to them their rights of patronage over their freedman, tho' they were reduced *in patriam poteſtatem.*

treat you to grant the full privileges of a Roman citizen to L. Satrius Abaſcantius, P. Cæſius Phoſphorus, and Pancharia Soteris. This requeſt I make with the conſent of their patrons.

LETTER XI. [xxiv.] *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

AFTER your late ſacred father, Sir, had, in a noble ſpeech, as well as by his own generous example, exhorted and encouraged the public to acts of munificence; I implored his permiſſion to remove the ſeveral ſtatues which I had of the former emperors, to [a] my corporation; and at the ſame time requeſted the liberty of adding his own to the number. For as I had hitherto continued them in the reſpective places wherein they ſtood when they came into my poſſeſſion by ſeveral different inheritances; they were diſperſed in diſtant parts of my eſtate. He was pleaſed to grant my requeſt, and at the ſame time to give me a very ample teſtimony of

[a] It is highly probable, upon comparing Let. 4. B. 3. and Let. 1. B. 4. that by the corporation here mentioned, Pliny means *Tifernum Tiberinum*, or *Citta di Caſtella*, as it is now called: which city had put itſelf under his patronage and protection.

of his approbation. I immediately therefore wrote to the Decurii, to desire they would allot a piece of ground, upon which I might erect a temple at my own expence; and they, as a mark of their honouring my design, offered me the choice of any site I should think proper. However, my own indisposition in the first place, and afterward that of your father, together with the duties of that employment with which you were both pleased to intrust me, prevented me from executing my intention. But I have now, I think, a convenient opportunity of making an excursion for that purpose, as my monthly [b] attendance ends on the first of September, and there are several festivals in the month following. My first petition therefore is, that you would permit me to adorn with your statue the temple I am going to raise; and the next (in order to the carrying on of my design with all possible expedition) that you would indulge me with leave of absence. It would ill become the sincerity I profess, were I to dissemble, that your goodness in complying with this desire, will at the same time be extremely serviceable to me in my own private affairs. It is

[b] Pliny enjoyed the office of treasurer in conjunction with Cornutus Tertullus. It was the custom at Rome for those who had colleagues to administer the duties of their posts by monthly turns. *Buchnerus.*

is abſolutely neceſſary I ſhould not defer any longer the letting of my lands in that province; for, beſides that they amount to above [c] four hundred thouſand ſeſterces, the ſeaſon for dreſſing the vineyards is approaching, and *that* buſineſs muſt fall upon my new tenants. The badneſs of the weather likewiſe, for ſeveral years paſt, obliges me to think of making ſome abatements in my rents; which I cannot poſſibly ſettle unleſs I am preſent. I ſhall be indebted then to your indulgence, Sir, both as forwarding this public act of piety, and giving me the opportunity of ſettling my private affairs, if you will be pleaſed to grant me [d] leave to be abſent for thirty days. I cannot limit a ſhorter time,

[c] About 3,200l. ſterling; the annual income of Pliny's eſtate in Tuſcany. He mentions another near Comum in the dutchy of Milan, the yearly value of which does not appear. We find him likewiſe conſidering about the purchaſe of an eſtate, for which he was to give about 24,000l. of our money; but whether he ever completed that purchaſe, is uncertain. [See Book 3. let. 19.] This however we are ſure of, that his fortunes were but moderate, conſidering his high ſtation and neceſſary expences: [See Book 2. let. 4.] and yet, by the advantage of a judicious œconomy, we have ſeen him in the courſe of theſe letters, exerciſing a liberality, of which after-ages have furniſhed no parallel.

[d] The ſenators were not allowed to go from Rome into the provinces, without having firſt obtained leave of the Emperor. Sicily, however, had the privilege to be excepted out of that law; as Gallia Narbonenſis afterwards was, by Claudius Cæſar. Tacit. Ann. 12. c. 23.

time, as the town and the eſtate of which I am ſpeaking, lie above an hundred and fifty miles from Rome.

LETTER XII. [xxv.] TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

YOU have given me many reaſons both of a public and private nature, why you requeſt leave of abſence; but I need no other than that it is your deſire: and I doubt not of your returning as ſoon as poſſible to the duty of an office, which ſo much requires your attendance. As I would not ſeem to check any inſtance of your affection towards me, I ſhall not oppoſe your erecting my ſtatue in the place you mention; tho', in general, I am extremely cautious in giving any encouragement to honours of that kind.

LETTER XIII. [viii.] *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

AS I am ſenſible, Sir, that the higheſt praiſe my actions can receive, is to be diſtinguiſhed by ſo excellent a Prince; I beg you would be graciouſly pleaſed to add either the office of

Augur or [a] Septemvir (both which are now vacant) to the dignity I already enjoy by your indulgence; that I may have the ſatisfaction of publicly offering up thoſe vows for your proſperity, from the duty of my office, which I daily prefer to the Gods in private, from the affection of my heart.

LETTER XIV. [xxvi.] *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

HAVING ſafely paſſed the promontory of [b] Malea, I am arrived at [c] Epheſus with all my train, notwithſtanding I was detained for ſome time by contrary winds: an information, Sir, in which, I truſt, you will think yourſelf concerned. I deſign to purſue the remainder of my journey to the [d] province, partly in light veſſels, and

[a] One of the ſeven prieſts who preſided over the feaſts appointed in honour of Jupiter and the other Gods: an office, as appears, of high dignity, ſince Pliny ranks it with the Augurſhip: of which ſee B. 4. let. 8. note [a].

[b] In the Peloponneſus; now called Capo Malea di-ſant-Angelo. Catanæus obſerves, this paſſage was ſo dangerous, that the ancients had a proverb, *cum Maleam deflexeris, domeſticos oblivi ſcere*; "the man that ſails by Malea muſt think no "more of his family."

[c] A city of Ionia, in Aſia the leſs, ſtill remaining.

[d] Bithynia, a province in Anatolia, or Aſia the leſs, of which Pliny was appointed governour by Trajan, in the 6th yea:

and partly in poſt-chaiſes: for, as the extreme heats will prevent my travelling altogether by land, ſo the Eteſian * winds, which are now ſet in, will not permit me to proceed entirely by ſea.

LETTER XV. [xxvii.] TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

YOUR information, my dear Pliny, was very acceptable to me; as it is much my concern to know in what manner you arrive at your province. I well approve of your intention to travel either by ſea or land, as you ſhall find moſt convenient.

LETTER XVI. [xxviii.] *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

AS I had a very favourable voyage to Epheſus, ſo in travelling poſt from thence, I was extremely incommoded by the heats, which occaſioned a fever, and detained me ſome time

year of his reign, A. Dom. 103. not as an ordinary Proconſul, but as that Emperor's own Lieutenant, with extraordinary powers. [See Dio.] The following letters were written during his adminiſtration of that province.

* A north wind in the Grecian ſeas, which riſes yearly ſome time in July, and continues to the end of Auguſt; tho' others extend it to the middle of September. They blow only in the day-time. Varenius's Geogr. v. i. p. 513.

at [a] Pergamum. From thence, Sir, I took ſhip again; but being delayed by contrary winds, I did not arrive at Bithynia ſo ſoon as I hoped [b]. However, I have no reaſon to complain of this delay, ſince it did not prevent me from reaching the province in time to celebrate your birth-day: a circumſtance which I conſider as the moſt auſpicious that could attend me. I am at preſent engaged in examining the finances of the [c] Pruſenſes, their diſburſements and credits; and the farther I proceed in this affair, the more I am convinced of the neceſſity of my enquiry. Several conſiderable ſums of money are owing to the city from private perſons, which they neglect to pay upon various pretences; as, on the other hand, I find the public funds are, in ſome inſtances, very unwarrantably applied. This, Sir, I write to you immediately on my

[a] The famous Troy, ſituated in that part of Aſia, which is now called Romania.

[b] The original adds, *id eſt*, xv. *Calend. Octobris*, which ſeems to have crept into the text from the marginal annotation of ſome gloſſariſt: for as Pliny mentions the time of his arrival a little lower, there is no occaſion for it in this place; and it is not agreeable to his uſual elegant conciſeneſs, to repeat that circumſtance twice in the ſame letter. Or perhaps here are two diſtinct letters run into one by the careleſſneſs of the tranſcribers; the former ending with *Hæc*, &c. *in ipſo ingreſſu meo ſcripſi*; the latter beginning with *Quintodecimo Calend.* &c.

[c] Pruſa, a maritime city in Bithynia, ſuppoſed by ſome geographers to be the ſame which is now called *Cheris*; famous for producing great quantities of cherries, which take their name from thence.

my arrival. I entered this province on the 17th of [d] September, and found it in thoſe ſentiments of obedience and loyalty, which you juſtly merit from all mankind. You will conſider, Sir, whether it would not be proper to ſend hither a ſurveyor; for I am inclined to think, much might be deducted from what is charged by thoſe who have the conduct of the public works, if a faithful admeaſurement were to be taken; at leaſt I am of that opinion from what I have already ſeen of the accounts of this city, which I am now examining, with the aſſiſtance of Maximus.

LETTER XVII. [xxix.] TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

I Should have rejoiced to have heard that you arrived at Bithynia without inconvenience to yourſelf or any of your train; and that your journey from Epheſus had been as eaſy, as your voyage to that place was favourable. For the reſt, your letter informs me, my dear Pliny, what day you reached Bithynia. The people of that province

[d] In the ſixth year of Trajan's reign, A. D. 103, and the 41ſt of our author's age: he continued in this province about 18 months. Vid. Maſſ. in vit. Plin. 129.

vince will be convinced, I perſuade myſelf, that I am attentive to their intereſt; as your conduct towards them will make it manifeſt, that I could have choſen no perſon more proper to ſupply my place. Your firſt enquiry ought, no doubt, to turn upon the ſtate of the public finances; for, it is but too evident they have been miſmanaged. I have ſcarce ſurveyors ſufficient to inſpect thoſe [a] works which I am carrying on at Rome, and in the neighbourhood; but perſons of integrity and ſkill in this art may be found, moſt certainly, in every province; ſo that you cannot be at a loſs in that article, if you will make due enquiry.

LETTER XVIII. [vii.] *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

THO' I am well aſſured, Sir, that you, who never omit any opportunity of exerciſing your generoſity, are not unmindful of the requeſt I lately

[a] Among other noble works which this glorious Emperor executed; the Forum, or ſquare, which went by his name, ſeems to have been the moſt magnificent. It was built with the foreign ſpoils he had taken in war. The covering was intirely braſs, the porticos exceedingly beautiful, and the pillars of more than ordinary height and dimenſions. In the center of this Forum was erected the famous pillar which has been already deſcribed. See B. 8. let. 4. not. [a].

lately made you; yet ſince you have frequently, among many other inſtances of your indulgence, permitted me to repeat my ſolicitations, I renew them now on behalf of Accius Sura; and earneſtly beſeech you to honour him with the Prætorſhip, which is become vacant. Tho' his ambition is extremely moderate, yet the quality of his birth, the inflexible integrity he has preſerved in a very narrow fortune, and, more than all, the felicity of your times, which encourages conſcious virtue to claim your favour, induce him to hope he may experience it in the preſent inſtance.

LETTER XIX. [ix.] *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

I Congratulate both you and the public, moſt excellent Emperor, upon the great and glorious victory you have obtained; ſo agreeable to the heroiſm of ancient Rome. May the immortal Gods give the ſame happy ſucceſs to all your deſigns, that, under the adminiſtration of ſo many princely virtues, the ſplendour of the empire may

ſhine out, not only in all its former, but with additional luſtre [a].

LETTER XX. [x.] *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

MY lieutenant Servilius Pudens came to [b] Nicomedia, Sir, on the 24th of November; and by his arrival freed me, at laſt, from the anxiety of a very tedious expectation.

LETTER XXI. [xi.] *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

YOUR generoſity to me, Sir, was the occaſion of my being connected with Roſlanus Geminus, by the ſtrongeſt ties; for he was my [c] Quæſtor when I was Conſul. His behaviour to me during the continuance of our offices, was highly reſpectful; and he has treated me ever ſince with ſo peculiar a regard, that beſides the many obligations I owe

[a] It is probable the victory here alluded to, was that famous one which Trajan gained over the Dacians; ſome account of which has been given in the notes above. It is certain, at leaſt, Pliny lived to ſee his wiſh accompliſhed; this Emperor having carried the Roman ſplendour to its higheſt pitch, and extended the dominions of the empire farther than any of his predeceſſors; after his death it began to decline.

[b] Now called Comedia, the capital city of Bithynia.

[c] See vol. i. p. 220, note [a].

I owe him upon a public account, I am indebted to him for the ſtrongeſt pledges of private friendſhip. I entreat you then to comply with my requeſt for the advancement of a worthy man, whom (if my recommendation has any weight) you will even diſtinguiſh by your particular favour; and whatever truſt you ſhall repoſe in him, he will endeavour to prove himſelf deſerving of a ſtill higher. But I forbear to enter into a more particular detail of his merit; being perſuaded, that his integrity, his probity, and his vigilance are well known to you, not only from thoſe high poſts which he has exerciſed in Rome within your immediate inſpection; but from his behaviour when he ſerved under you in the army. One thing, however, my affection for him inclines me to think I have not yet ſufficiently performed; and therefore, Sir, I repeat my intreaties that you will give me the pleaſure, as early as poſſible, of rejoicing in the advancement of my Quæſtor; or, in other words, of receiving an addition to my own honours in the perſon of my friend.

LETTER XXII. [xii.] *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

I Know not, Sir, in what words ſufficiently to expreſs the joy I received, when I heard you had, in compliance with the requeſt of my [a] mother-in-law and myſelf, granted Cœlius Clemens the Proconſulſhip of this [b] province after the expiration of his conſular office; as it is a proof that your beneficence towards me graciouſly extends itſelf thro' my whole family. As I dare not pretend to make an equal return to thoſe obligations I ſo juſtly owe you, I can only have recourſe to vows; and ardently implore the Gods, that I may not be found unworthy of thoſe favours, which you are repeatedly conferring upon me.

[a] Pompeia Celerina.

[b] Bithynia.

LET-

LETTER XXIII. [xiii.] *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

I Received, Sir, a diſpatch from your freedman Lycormas, deſiring me, if any embaſſy from [a] Boſphorus ſhould come hither in the way to Rome, that I would detain it till his arrival. None has yet arrived; at leaſt in the [b] city where I now am. But a courier paſſing thro' this place from the king of [c] Sarmatia, I embrace the opportunity which accidently offers itſelf, of ſending with him the meſſenger which Lycormas diſpatched hither; that you might be informed at once by his letter and the king's, of certain circumſtances which it may be expedient, perhaps, that they ſhould come to your knowledge at the ſame time.

[a] Boſphorus Cimerius, now called *Voſpero*, in Krim Tartary.

[b] Nicea (as appears by the 15th Let. of this B.) a city in Bithynia now called Iſmich.

[c] Sarmatia was divided into European, Aſiatic, and German Sarmatia. It is not exactly known what bounds the ancients gave to this extenſive region; however, in general, it comprehended the northern parts of Ruſſia, Muſcovy, leſſer Tartary, and the greateſt part of the kingdom of Poland, &c.

LET-

LETTER XXIV. [xiv.] *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

I AM informed by a letter from the king of Sarmatia, that ſome affairs have happened, of which it is requiſite you ſhould be immediately acquainted. In order therefore to expedite the diſpatches which his courier was charged with to you, I granted him a warrant to make uſe of the public poſt[a].

[a] The firſt invention of public couriers is abſcribed to Cyrus, who, in order to receive the earlieſt intelligence from the governors of the ſeveral provinces *, erected poſt-houſes throughout the kingdom of Perſia, at equal diſtances, which ſupplied men and horſes to forward the public diſpatches. Auguſtus † was the firſt who introduced this moſt uſeful inſtitution among the Romans, by employing poſt-chaiſes, diſpoſed at convenient diſtances, for the purpoſe of political intelligence. The magiſtrates of every city were obliged to furniſh ‡ horſes for theſe meſſengers, upon producing a *diploma*, or a kind of warrant, either from the emperor himſelf, or from thoſe who had that authority under him. Sometimes, tho' upon very extraordinary occaſions, perſons who travelled upon their private affairs, were allowed to avail themſelves of theſe poſt-chaiſes. [See Let. 121, of this Book.] It is ſurpriſing they were not ſooner uſed for the purpoſes of commerce and private communication. Louis XI. firſt eſtabliſhed them in France, in the year 1474; but it was not till the 12th of Car. II. ‖ that the poſt-office was ſettled in England by act of Parliament.

* Cyrop. l. 8. p. 496. edit. Hutchinſon.
† Suet. in vit. Aug. c. 49.
‡ Plutarch. in vit. Galbæ.
‖ Rapin, vol. 2. 662. fol. ed.

LET-

LETTER XXV. [xv.] *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

THE embaſſador from the king of Sarmatia having remained two days, by his own choice, at Nicea, where he found me, I did not think it reaſonable, Sir, to detain him any longer; not only becauſe it was ſtill uncertain when your freedman Lycormas would arrive, but as ſome indiſpenſable affairs require my preſence in a different part of the province. Of this circumſtance I thought it neceſſary that you ſhould be informed, becauſe I lately acquainted you in a letter, that Lycormas had deſired, if an embaſſy ſhould come this way from Boſphorus, that I would detain it till his arrival. But I did not ſee there was any pretence of retarding him any longer; eſpecially as the diſpatches from Lycormas, which (as I have already mentioned) I was not willing to detain, would probably reach you ſome days ſooner than this embaſſador.

LET-

LETTER XXVI. [xvi.] *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

I Received a letter, Sir, from Apuleius, an officer in the troops ſtationed at Nicomedia, informing me that one Callidromus being arreſted by Maximus and Dionyſius, (two bakers, to whom he had hired himſelf) fled for refuge to your [a] ſtatue; that being brought before a magiſtrate, he declared he was formerly ſlave to Laberius Maximus; but being taken priſoner by [b] Suſagus in Mœſia [c], he was ſent as a preſent from Decebalus to Pacorus king of Parthia, in whoſe ſervice he continued ſeveral years, from whence he made his eſcape and came to Nicomedia. When he was examined before me, he confirmed this account;

[a] Particular temples, altars, and ſtatues were allowed among the Romans as places of ſanctuary to ſlaves, debtors, and malefactors. This cuſtom was introduced by Romulus, who borrowed it probably from the Greeks; but during the free ſtate of Rome, few of theſe aſylums were permitted. This cuſtom prevailed moſt under the Emperors, till it grew ſo ſcandalous, that the Emperor Pius found it neceſſary to reſtrain thoſe privileged places by an edict. See Lipſii excurſ. ad Taciti Ann. 3. c. 36.

[b] General under Decebalus.

[c] A province in Dacia, comprehending the ſouthern parts of Servia and part of Bulgaria.

account; for which reaſon I thought it neceſſary to [d] ſend him to you. I ſhould have ſent him ſooner, but I deferr'd his journey, in order to make an inquiry concerning a gem which he ſaid was taken from him, upon which was engraven the figure of Pacorus in his royal habit: I was deſirous (if it could have been found) of tranſmitting this curioſity to you, with a ſmall ingot of Parthian gold, which he ſays he brought from thence out of the mines. I have fixed my ſeal to it, the impreſſion of which is, a chariot drawn by four horſes.

LETTER XXVII. [xvii.] *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

YOUR freedman and [e] procurator, Maximus, behaved, Sir, during all the time we were together, with great probity, attention, and diligence; as one ſtrongly attached to your intereſt, and ſtrictly obſervant of diſcipline. This teſtimony I very willingly give him; and I give it with all the fidelity I owe to you.

[d] The ſecond expedition of Trajan againſt Decebalus, was undertaken the ſame year that Pliny went governour into this province: the reaſon therefore why Pliny ſent this Callidromus to the Emperor, ſeems to be, that ſome uſe might poſſibly be made of him in favour of that deſign.

[e] Receiver of the finances.

LETTER XXVIII. [xviii.] *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

AFTER having experienced, Sir, in Gabius Baſſus, who commands on the frontiers of [a] Pontica, the greateſt integrity, honour, and diligence, as well as the moſt particular reſpect to myſelf, I cannot refuſe him my beſt wiſhes and ſuffrage; and I give them to him with all that fidelity which is due to you. I have found him abundantly qualified by having ſerved in the army under you; and it is owing to the advantages of your diſcipline, that he has learned to merit the honour of your approbation. The military and the people here, who have had abundant experience of his juſtice and humanity, rival each other in that glorious teſtimony they give of his conduct both public and private: and I certify this with all the ſincerity you have a right to expect from me.

[a] Krim Tartary.

LET-

LETTER XXIX. [xix.] *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

NYmphidius [a] Lupus, Sir, ſerved with me in the army. He commanded a body of the auxiliary forces at the ſame time that I was military tribune: and it was from that connection my affection for him began. A long acquaintance hath ſince mutually endeared and ſtrengthened our friendſhip. For this reaſon I did violence to his repoſe, and inſiſted upon his attending me into Bithynia, as my aſſeſſor in council. He moſt readily granted me this proof of his amity; and without any regard to the plea of age, or of retirement, he ſhared, and continues to ſhare with me, the fatigue of public buſineſs. I conſider his relations therefore as my own; in which number, Nymphidius Lupus, his ſon, claims my particular notice. He is a youth of great merit and indefatigable application; and in every view of his character, well worthy of ſo excellent a father. The early

[a] The text calls him *Primipilarem*, that is, one who had been *Primipilus*, an officer in the army, whoſe poſt was both highly honourable and profitable; among other parts of his office he had the care of the Eagle, or chief ſtandard of the legion.

early proof he gave of his merit, when he commanded a regiment of foot, is a proof that he is equal to any honour you ſhall think proper to confer upon him; and it gained him the ſtrongeſt teſtimony of approbation from thoſe moſt illuſtrious perſonages Julius Ferox, and Fuſcus Salinator. I will add, Sir, that I ſhall rejoice in any increaſe of dignity which he ſhall receive, as an occaſion of particular ſatisfaction to myſelf.

LETTER XXX. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

I Requeſt your determination, Sir, in a point wherein I am greatly doubtful: it is, whether I ſhould place the public ſlaves [a] as centinels round the priſons of the ſeveral cities in this province (as has been hitherto the practice) or employ a party of ſoldiers for that purpoſe? On the one hand, I am afraid the public ſlaves will not attend this duty with the fidelity they ought; and on the other, that it will engage too large a body of the ſoldiery: in the mean while, I have joined a few of the latter with the former. I am apprehenſive, however, there may be ſome danger that this method will occaſion a general neglect of duty, as it will afford them

[a] Slaves who were purchaſed by the public.

them a mutual pretence of throwing the blame upon each other.

LETTER XXXI. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

THERE is no occaſion, my dear Pliny, to draw off any [a] ſoldiers in order to guard the priſons. Let us rather perſevere in the ancient cuſtom obſerved in this province, of employing the public ſlaves for that purpoſe: the fidelity with which they ſhall execute their duty will depend much upon your care and ſtrict diſcipline. It is greatly to be feared, as you obſerve, if the ſoldiers ſhould be mixed with the public ſlaves, they will mutually truſt to each other, and by that means grow ſo much the more negligent. But my principal objection is, that as few ſoldiers as poſſible ſhould be withdrawn from their ſtandard.

[a] In the original it is *Commilitones*, "my fellow-ſoldiers:" an appellation which thoſe Emperors who deſired to be well with the army affected to uſe. Suetonius informs us, that Auguſtus would never employ that expreſſion, as thinking it a condeſcenſion unbecoming his dignity; and neither ſuitable to the tranquillity of the times, nor to military diſcipline.

LETTER XXXII. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

GAbius Baſſus, who commands upon the frontiers of Pontica, in a manner ſuitable to the reſpect and duty which he owes you, has been with me, Sir, for ſeveral days. As far as I could obſerve, he is a perſon of great merit, and worthy of your favour. I acquainted him with your order that he ſhould be contented with ten [a] beneficiary ſoldiers, two horſe-guards, and one captain, out of the troops which you were pleaſed to aſſign to my command. He aſſured me thoſe would not be ſufficient, and that he would write to you accordingly: for which reaſon I thought it proper not immediately to recall his ſupernumeraries.

[a] The moſt probable conjecture (for it is a point of a good deal of obſcurity) concerning the *Beneficiarii*, ſeems to be, that they were a certain number of ſoldiers exempted from the uſual duty of their office, in order to be employed as a ſort of body-guards to the General. Theſe were probably foot; as the *Equites* here mentioned were perhaps of the ſame nature, only that they ſerved on horſe-back. *Equites ſingulares Cæſaris, Auguſti, &c.* are frequently met with upon ancient inſcriptions, and are generally ſuppoſed to mean the body-guards of the Emperor.

LET-

LETTER XXXIII. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

I Have received from Gabius Baſſus, the letter you mention, acquainting me, that the number of ſoldiers I had ordered him was not ſufficient: and for your information I have directed my anſwer to be hereunto annexed. It is very material to diſtinguiſh between what the exigency of affairs requires, and what an ambitious deſire of power may think neceſſary. As for ourſelves, the intereſt of the public muſt be our only guide: accordingly, it is incumbent upon us to take all poſſible care, that the ſoldiers ſhall not be abſent from their ſtandard.

LETTER XXXIV. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

THE Pruſenſes, Sir, having an ancient bath which lies in a ruinous ſtate, deſire your leave to repair it; but upon examination, I am of opinion it ought to be rebuilt. I think therefore, you may indulge them in this requeſt, as there will be a ſufficient fund for that purpoſe, partly from thoſe debts which are due from [a] private perſons

[a] See let. 28. of this book.

to the public, which I am now levying; and partly from the money they raiſe among themſelves towards furniſhing the bath with oil, which they are willing to apply to the carrying on of this building: a work which the dignity of the city, and the ſplendour of your times ſeem to render neceſſary.

LETTER XXXV. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

IF the erecting of a public bath will not be too great a charge upon the Pruſenſes, we may comply with their requeſt; provided, however, that no new tax be levied for this purpoſe, nor any of thoſe taken off which are appropriated to neceſſary ſervices.

LETTER XXXVI. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

I AM aſſured, Sir, by your freedman and receiver-general Maximus, that it is neceſſary he ſhould have an additional party of ſoldiers aſſigned to him, beſides the *beneficiarii*, [a] which by your orders I appointed to the very worthy Gemellinus. Thoſe therefore which I found in his ſervice I thought

[a] See let. 32. of this book in note.

thought proper he ſhould retain, eſpecially as he was going into [b] Paphlagonia in order to procure corn. For his better protection likewiſe, and becauſe it was his requeſt, I added two of the cavalry. But I beg you would inform me, in your next diſpatches, what method you would have me obſerve for the future in points of this nature.

LETTER XXXVII. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

AS my freedman Maximus was going upon an extraordinary commiſſion to procure corn, I approve of your having ſupplied him with a file of ſoldiers. But when he ſhall return to the duties of his former poſt, I think two from you, and as many from his coadjutor, my receiver-general Verbius Gemellinus, will be ſufficient.

[b] A province in the leſſer Aſia, bounded by the Black-Sea and the rivers Delaſs and Caſilirmar.

LETTER XXXVIII. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

THE very excellent young man Sempronius Cælianus having diſcovered two [a] ſlaves among the recruits, has ſent them to me. But I deferred paſſing ſentence till I had conſulted you, the reſtorer and ſupporter of military diſcipline, concerning the puniſhment proper to be inflicted upon them. My principal doubt is, that altho' they have taken the military oath, they are not yet entered into any particular legion. I requeſt you therefore, Sir, to inform me, what courſe I ſhould purſue in this affair, eſpecially as it concerns example.

[a] The Roman policy excluded ſlaves from entering into military ſervice, and it was death if they did ſo. However, upon caſes of great neceſſity this maxim was diſpenſed with; but then they were firſt made free before they were received into the army, excepting only (as Servius in his notes upon Virgil obſerves) after the fatal battle of Cannæ; when the public diſtreſs was ſo great, that the Romans recruited their army with their ſlaves, though they had not time to give them their freedom. One reaſon, perhaps, of this policy might be, that they did not think it ſafe to arm ſo conſiderable a body of men, whoſe numbers, in the times when the Roman luxury was higheſt, we may have ſome idea of, by the inſtance which Pliny the naturaliſt mentions of Claudius Iſodorus, who at his death was poſſeſſed of no leſs than 4,116 ſlaves, notwithſtanding he had loſt great numbers in the civil wars. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. xxxiii. 10. Meurſius de luxu Rom.

LET-

LETTER XXXIX. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

SEmpronius Cælianus has acted agreeably to my orders, in ſending ſuch perſons to be tried before you, as appear to deſerve capital puniſhment. It is material, however, in the caſe in queſtion, to enquire whether theſe ſlaves inliſted themſelves voluntarily, or were choſen by the officers, or were preſented as ſubſtitutes for others. If they were choſen, the officer is guilty; if they are proxies, the blame reſts with thoſe who deputed them; but if, conſcious of the legal inabilities of their ſtation, they preſented themſelves voluntarily, the puniſhment muſt fall upon their own heads. That they are not yet entered into any legion, makes no great difference in their caſe; for they ought to have given a true account of themſelves immediately, upon their being approved as fit for the ſervice.

LETTER XL. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

AS I have your permiſſion, Sir, to addreſs myſelf to you in all my doubts, you will not deem it below the dignity of your exalted ſtation, to deſcend to thoſe humbler affairs, which concern my adminiſtration of this province. I find there are in ſeveral cities, particularly thoſe of Nicomedia and Nicea, certain perſons who take upon themſelves to act as public [a] ſlaves, and receive an annual ſtipend accordingly, notwithſtanding they have been condemned either to the mines, the [b] public games, or other puniſhments of the like nature. Having received information of this abuſe, I have been long debating with myſelf, how I ſhould act. On the one hand, to ſend them back to their reſpective puniſhments, (many of them being now grown old, and behaving, as I am aſſured, with ſobriety and modeſty) would, I thought, be proceeding againſt them too ſeverely; on the other, to retain convicted criminals in the public ſervice, ſeemed not altogether decent. I conſidered, at the ſame time,

[a] See note let. 30. of this B.

[b] A puniſhment among the Romans, uſually inflicted upon ſlaves, by which they were to engage with wild beaſts, or perform the part of gladiators, in the public ſhews.

time, to ſupport theſe people in idleneſs, would be an uſeleſs expence to the public; and to leave them to ſtarve, would be dangerous. I was obliged therefore to ſuſpend the determination of this matter, till I could conſult with you. You will be deſirous, perhaps, to be informed, how it happened that theſe perſons eſcaped the puniſhments to which they were condemned. This inquiry I have alſo made, but cannot return you any ſatisfactory anſwer. The decrees againſt them were indeed produced; but no record appears of their having ever been reverſed. It was aſſerted, however, that theſe people were pardoned upon their petition to the proconſuls, or their lieutenants; which ſeems likely to be the truth, as it is improbable that any perſon would have dared to ſet them at liberty without authority.

LETTER XLI. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

YOU will remember you were ſent into Bithynia, for the particular purpoſe of correcting thoſe many abuſes which appeared neceſſary to be reformed. Now none ſtands more in need of reformation, than that criminals, who have been ſentenced to puniſhment, ſhould not only be

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ſet at liberty (as your letter informs me) without any apparent authority, but even appointed to employments, which ought alone to be exerciſed by perſons whoſe characters are irreproachable. Thoſe therefore among them who have been convicted within theſe ten years, and whoſe ſentence has not been reverſed by proper authority, muſt be ſent back to their reſpective puniſhments; but where more than ten years have elapſed ſince their conviction, and they are grown old and infirm, let them be diſpoſed of in ſuch employments, as are but few degrees removed from the puniſhments to which they were ſentenced; that is, either to attend upon the public baths, cleanſe the common ſhores, or repair the ſtreets and highways; thoſe being the offices to which ſuch perſons are uſually ſentenced.

LETTER XLII. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

WHile I was making a progreſs in a different part of the province, a moſt deſtructive fire broke out at Nicomedia, which not only conſumed ſeveral private houſes, but alſo two public buildings; the town-houſe and the temple of Iſis, tho' they ſtood on contrary ſides of the ſtreet. The occaſion of its ſpreading thus wide, was partly owing to the violence of the wind,

and partly to the indolence of the people, who, it appears, ſtood fixed and idle ſpectators of this terrible calamity. The truth is, the city was not furniſhed with either [a] engines, buckets, or any ſingle inſtrument proper to extinguiſh fires: which I have now however given directions to be provided. You will conſider, Sir, whether it may not be adviſeable to form a company of fire-men, conſiſting only of one hundred and fifty members. I will take care none but thoſe of that buſineſs ſhall be admitted into it; and that the privileges granted them ſhall not be extended to any other purpoſe. As this corporate body will be reſtricted to ſo ſmall a number of members, it will be eaſy to keep them under proper regulation.

[a] It has been generally imagined that the ancients had not the art of raiſing water by engines; but this paſſage ſeems to favour the contrary opinion. The word in the original is *Sipho*, which Heſychius explains (as one of the commentators obſerves) *inſtrumentum ad jaculandas aquas adverſus incendia*; "an inſtrument to throw up water againſt fires." But there is a paſſage in Seneca which ſeems to put this matter beyond conjecture, tho' none of the critics upon this place have taken notice of it: *Solemus*, ſays he, *duabus manibus inter ſe junctis aquam concipere, & compreſſa utrimque palma in modum ſiphonis exprimere*, [Q. N. l. 2. 16.] where we plainly ſee the uſe of this *Sipho* was to throw up water, and conſequently the Romans were acquainted with that art. The account which Pliny gives of the fountains at his Tuſcan villa is likewiſe another proof.

LET-

LETTER XLIII. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

YOU are of opinion it would be proper to eſtabliſh a company of fire-men in Nicomedia, agreeably to what has been practiſed in ſeveral other cities. But it is to be remember'd, that ſocieties of this ſort have greatly diſturb'd the peace of the province in general, and of thoſe cities in particular. Whatever name we give them, and for whatever purpoſe they may be inſtituted, they will not fail to form themſelves into factious aſſemblies, however ſhort their meetings may be. It will therefore be ſafer, to provide ſuch machines as are of ſervice in extinguiſhing fires, enjoining the owners of houſes to aſſiſt in preventing the miſchief from ſpreading; and if it ſhould be neceſſary, to call in the aid of the populace.

LETTER XLIV. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

AGreeably to the general notice we previouſly gave for that purpoſe, we have offered, Sir, our annual [a] vows, for your proſperity, in which that of the empire is eſſentially involved; implor-

ing

[a] This was an anniverſary cuſtom obſerved throughout the Empire, on the 30th of December.

ing the Gods to grant that theſe yearly vows may never ceaſe to be thus by public authority announced and offered.

LETTER XLV. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

I Received the ſatisfaction, my dear Pliny, of being informed by your letter, that you, together with the people under your government, have both diſcharged and renewed your annual vows to the immortal Gods, for my health and happineſs.

LETTER XLVI. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

THE city of Nicomedia, Sir, have expended three millions three hundred and twenty-nine ſeſterces[a] in building an aquæduct; which, not anſwering the intent, the works are entirely fallen into ruin. They made a ſecond attempt in another place, where they expended[b] two millions. But in this likewiſe they were diſappointed; ſo that after having been at an immenſe charge to no purpoſe, they muſt ſtill be at a farther expence, in order to be accommodated with water. I have examined a fine ſpring from whence the water may be conveyed over arches (as was attempted in their firſt deſign) in ſuch

[a] About 24,000 l. of our money.

[b] About 16,000 l. of our money.

ſuch a manner that the higher, as well as level and low parts of the city may be ſupplied. There are but very few of the old arches remaining; the ſquare ſtones, however, employed in the former, may be uſed in turning the new arches. I am of opinion part ſhould be raiſed with brick, as that will be the eaſier and cheaper material. But that this work may not meet with the ſame ill ſucceſs as the former, it will be neceſſary to ſend hither an architect, or ſome perſon ſkilled in the conſtruction of this kind of water-works. And I will venture to ſay, from the beauty and uſefulneſs of the deſign, it will be an erection well worthy the ſplendour of your times.

LETTER XLVII. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

CARE muſt be taken to ſupply the city of Nicomedia with water; and that buſineſs, I am well perſuaded, you will perform with all the diligence you ought. But it is moſt certainly no leſs incumbent upon you to examine, by whoſe miſconduct it has happened, that ſuch large ſums have been thrown away upon this attempt; leſt they apply the money to private purpoſes, and the aquæduct in queſtion, like the preceding, ſhould be begun and afterwards left unfiniſhed. You will let me know the reſult of your inquiry.

LET-

LETTER XLVIII. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

THE citizens of Nicea, Sir, are building a theatre, which, tho' it is not yet finiſhed, they have already expended, as I am informed (for I have not examined the account myſelf) above[a] ten millions of ſeſterces; and, what is worſe, I fear to no purpoſe. For, either from the foundation being laid in a marſhy ground, or that the ſtones themſelves were decayed, the walls are crack'd from

[a] About 80,000 l. of our money. To thoſe who are not acquainted with the immenſe riches of the ancients, it may ſeem incredible that a city, and not the capital one, of a conquered province, ſhould expend ſo large a ſum of money upon only the ſhell (as it appears to be) of a theatre: but Aſia was eſteemed the moſt conſiderable part of the world for wealth; its fertility and exportations (as * Tully obſerves) exceeding that of all other countries. The ingenious Dr. Arbuthnot quotes an inſtance from Athenæus of Aſiatic riches, which a man muſt be a tolerable arithmetician even to count. It is the value of the treaſure of Sardanapulus, with which he made a funeral pile for himſelf and family when he was beſieged by Arbaces king of the Medes. "Athenæus makes the value "of the treaſure of this pile to amount to 100,000,000 ta-"lents, which reckoned in Babylonic talents, amounts to "16,953,125,000 l. This was only the value of the ſilver; "there was beſides a tenth part of that number of talents of "gold, which if gold was reckoned in a decuple proportion, "will juſt double that ſum." *Arbuth. ant. coins*, p. 203.

* Orat. pro. Imp. Cn. Pomp.

from top to bottom. It deſerves your conſideration therefore, whether it would be beſt to carry on this work, or entirely diſcontinue it; or rather, perhaps, whether it would not be moſt prudent abſolutely to deſtroy it: for the foundations upon which this building is raiſed, appear to me more expenſive than ſolid. Several private perſons have promiſed to erect at their own expence, ſome the portico, others the galleries above the [b] pit: but this deſign cannot be executed, as the principal fabric is at a ſtand. This city is alſo rebuilding upon a more enlarged plan, the [c] Gymnaſium, which was burnt down before my arrival in the province. They have already been at ſome (and, I doubt, a fruitleſs) expence. The ſtructure is not only irregular and ill-diſpoſed, but the preſent architect (who it muſt be owned is a rival to the perſon who was firſt employed) aſſerts, that the walls, tho' they are [d] twenty-two feet thick, are not ſtrong enough to ſupport the ſuperſtructure, as their

[b] The word *Cavea* in the original, comprehends more than what we call the *Pit* in our theatres, as it means the whole ſpace in which the ſpectators ſate. Theſe theatres being open at top, the galleries here mentioned were for the convenience of retiring in bad weather.

[c] A place in which the athletic exerciſes were performed, and where the philoſophers alſo uſed to read their lectures.

[d] The Roman foot conſiſted of 11 inches and 7 tenths of our ſtandard.

their interſtices are not cemented with mortar, nor are theſe walls ſtrengthened with a teſtaceous covering.

The inhabitants of [e] Claudiopolis are ſinking (I cannot call it erecting) a large public bath, upon a low ſpot of ground which lies at the foot of a mountain. The fund appropriated for the carrying on of this work, ariſes from the money which thoſe honorary members you were pleaſed to add to their ſenate, paid (or at leaſt are ready to pay whenever I call upon them) [f] for their admiſſion. As I am afraid therefore the public money in the city of Nicea, and (what is infinitely more valuable than any pecuniary conſideration) your benefaction in that of Claudiopolis, ſhould be ill applied; I muſt deſire you to ſend hither an architect to inſpect, not only the theatre, but the bath; in order to conſider whether, after all the expence which has already been laid out, it will be better to finiſh them upon the preſent plan, or reform the one, and remove the other: for otherwiſe we may perhaps throw away our future coſt, by endeavouring not to loſe what we have already expended.

[e] A city in Iſaaric, a province in Aſia, ſituated at the foot of mount Taurus between Lyconia, Pamphilia, Cilicia, and the ſea.

[f] The honorary ſenators, that is, ſuch who were not received into the council of the city by election, but by the appointment of the Emperor, paid a certain ſum of money upon their admiſſion.

LETTER XLIX. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

YOU who are upon the ſpot, will beſt be able to conſider and determine what is proper to be done concerning the theatre, which the inhabitants of Niçea are building; as for myſelf, it will be ſufficient if you let me know your determination. With reſpect to the particular parts of this theatre which are to be raiſed at a private charge; you will ſee thoſe engagements fulfilled, when the body of the building to which they are to be annexed, ſhall be finiſhed.—Theſe paltry Greeks are, I know, immoderately fond of Gymnaſtic diverſions, and therefore, perhaps, the citizens of Nicea have planned a more magnificent fabric for this purpoſe than is neceſſary: however, they muſt be contented with ſuch as will be ſufficient to anſwer the uſe for which it is intended.

I entirely leave it to you to adviſe the Claudiopolitani as you ſhall think proper, with relation to their bath, which they have placed, it ſeems, in a very improper ſituation. As there is no province that is not furniſhed with men of ſkill and ingenuity,

ingenuity, you cannot poſſibly want architects; unleſs you think it the ſhorteſt way to procure them from Rome, when it is generally from Greece that they come to us.

LETTER L. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

WHEN I reflect upon the ſplendour of your exalted ſtation, and the magnanimity of your ſpirit; nothing, I am perſuaded, can be more ſuitable to both, than to point out to you ſuch deſigns as are worthy of your glorious and immortal name, as being no leſs uſeful than magnificent. Bordering upon the territories of the city of Nicomedia is a moſt extenſive lake; upon which the commodities of the country are eaſily and cheaply tranſported to the high road; but from thence, are conveyed in carriages to the ſea-ſide, at great charge and labour. To remedy this inconvenience, will require, many hands; but upon ſuch an occaſion, they cannot be wanting; for the country, and particularly the city, is exceedingly populous: and one may aſſuredly hope, that every perſon will readily engage in a work which will be of univerſal benefit. It only remains then to ſend hither, if you ſhall think pro-

per, a ſurveyor or an architect, in order to examine whether the lake lies above the level of the ſea; the engineers of this province being of opinion that the former is higher by forty [a] cubits. I find there is in the neighbourhood of this place, a large canal, which was formerly cut by one of the kings of this country; but as it was left unfiniſhed, it is uncertain whether the canal was for the purpoſe of draining the adjacent lands, or making a communication between the lake and the river. It is equally doubtful, whether the death of this Prince, or the deſpair of being able to accompliſh the deſign, prevented its completion. If the latter, I am ſo much the more ambitious, for the honour of your illuſtrious character (and I hope you will pardon me the pride) that *you* may have the glory of executing, what [b] *kings* could only attempt.

LET-

[a] A Roman cubit is equal to 1 foot 5 inches $\frac{406}{1000}$ of our meaſure. *Arbuthnot's tab.*

[b] A commentator upon this paſſage thinks this a very extraordinary compliment; "As if, ſays he, an Emperor of "Rome could not do more than a little king of Bithynia." But it is much more probable that this critic ſhould be miſtaken in his objection, than Pliny in his compliment; and tho' he will have it to be a *little* king, it is more reaſonable to ſuppoſe our author meant ſome great king of Perſia. Beſides, *Imperator*, among the Romans, had not of itſelf any ſuch high idea, as has been affixed to it in later times. The meaning therefore of this wiſh ſeems to be, that tho' Trajan was contented

LETTER LI. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

THERE is ſomething in the ſcheme you propoſe of opening a communication between the lake and the ſea, which may, perhaps, tempt me to conſent. But you muſt firſt carefully examine the ſituation of this body of water, what quantity it contains, and from whence it is ſupplied; leſt by giving it an opening into the ſea, it ſhould be totally drained. You may apply to Calpurnius Macer for an engineer; as I will alſo ſend you from hence, ſome perſons ſkilled in works of this nature.

LETTER LII. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

UPON examining the public expences of the city of Byzantium [a], (which I find are extremely great) I was informed, Sir, that the appointments of the ambaſſadour, which they ſend yearly to you with their homage and the decree

tented to be in title no more than General, [*Imperator*] yet in acts of public munificence he might be more than thoſe who proudly ſtiled themſelves kings.

[a] Now Conſtantinople.

which paſſes in the ſenate upon that occaſion, amount to twelve[b] thouſand ſeſterces. But knowing the generous maxims of your government, I thought proper to ſend the decree without the ambaſſadour; that at the ſame time they diſcharged their public duty to you, they might be eaſed in the manner of paying it. This city is likewiſe taxed with the ſum of[c] three thouſand ſeſterces towards defraying the expence of an envoy, whom they annually ſend to compliment the governour of Moeſia: this expence I have alſo directed to be ſpared. I beg, Sir, you would deign either to confirm my judgment, or correct my error in theſe points, by acquainting me with your ſentiments.

LETTER LIII. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

I Well approve, my dear Pliny, of your having excuſed the Byzantines the expence of ſending an ambaſſadour to me. I ſhall eſteem their duty as ſufficiently paid, tho' I only receive the act of their ſenate thro' your hands. The governour of Moeſia muſt likewiſe excuſe them, if they compliment him at a leſs expence.

[b] About 96 l. ſterling.

[c] About 24 l. of our money.

LET-

LETTER LIV. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

I Beg, Sir, you would ſettle a doubt I have concerning your [a] *Diplomas*; whether you think proper that thoſe *Diplomas*, the dates whereof are expired, ſhall continue in force, and how long? For I am apprehenſive I may thro' ignorance, either confirm ſuch of theſe inſtruments as are illegal, or prevent the effect of thoſe which are neceſſary.

LETTER LV. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

THOSE Diplomas the dates whereof are expired, muſt by no means be made uſe of. For which reaſon it is an inviolable rule with me, to ſend new inſtruments of this kind into all the provinces before they are immediately wanted.

[a] A diploma is properly a grant of certain privileges either to particular places or perſons. It ſignifies alſo grants of other kinds; and it ſometimes means * poſt-warrants, as, perhaps, it does in this place.

* See Let. xiv. of this book, in the notes.

LETTER LVI. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

UPON intimating, Sir, my deſign to the city of [a] Apamea, of examining into the ſtate of their public funds and revenues; they told me they were very willing I ſhould inſpect their accounts, but that no Proconſul had ever yet peruſed them; as they had a privilege (and that of a very ancient date) of adminiſtring the affairs of their corporation in the manner they thought proper. I required them to draw up a memorial of what they then aſſerted, and I tranſmit it to you preciſely as I received it; altho' I am ſenſible it contains ſeveral things foreign to the queſtion. I beg you would honour me with your commands, how I am to act in this matter: for, I ſhould be extremely ſorry either to exceed, or to fall ſhort of, the powers of my commiſſion.

[a] A city in Bithynia.

LETTER LVII. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

THE memorial of the Apameans annexed to your letter, ſaved me the neceſſity of conſidering the reaſons they ſuggeſt, why the former Proconſuls forbore to inſpect their accounts; ſince they are willing to ſubmit them to your examination. Their compliance deſerves to be encouraged; and they may be aſſured the enquiry you are to make in purſuance of my orders, ſhall be with a full reſerve to their privileges.

LETTER LVIII. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

THE Nicomedians, Sir, before my arrival in this province, had begun to build a new Forum contiguous to their former, in a corner of which ſtands an ancient temple dedicated to the [a] *mother of the Gods*. This edifice muſt either be repaired, or removed; chiefly, becauſe it is a much lower building than that very lofty one which is

[a] Cybele, Rhea, or Ops, as ſhe is ſeverally called; from whom, according to the Pagan creed, the reſt of the gods are ſuppoſed to have deſcended.

is now erecting. Upon enquiry whether any particular condition had been annexed to the dedication of this temple; I was informed that their ceremonies of dedication differ from ours. You will be pleased therefore, Sir, to conſider whether a temple, which has not been conſecrated according to our rites, may be removed [a] conſiſtently with the reverence due to religion: for if there ſhould be no objection from that quarter, the removal in every other reſpect would be extremely convenient.

LETTER LIX. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

YOU may without ſcruple, my dear Pliny, if the ſituation requires it, remove the temple of the *mother of the Gods*, from the place where it now ſtands, to any other more commodious. You need be under no difficulty concerning the act of dedication; for the ground of a [b] foreign city is not capable of receiving that kind of conſecration which is ſanctified by our laws.

[a] Whatever was legally conſecrated, was ever afterwards unapplicable to profane uſes.

[b] That is, a city not admitted to enjoy the laws and privileges of Rome.

LET-

LETTER LX. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

WE have celebrated, Sir, (with thoſe ſentiments of gratulation which your virtues ſo juſtly merit) the day of your acceſſion to the empire, which was alſo its preſervation, imploring the Gods to preſerve you in health and proſperity; for upon your welfare the ſecurity and repoſe of the world depends. I renewed at the ſame time the oath of allegiance at the head of the army, which repeated it after me in the uſual form, the people of the province zealouſly concurring in the ſame oath.

LETTER LXI. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

YOUR letter, my dear Pliny, was extremely acceptable, as it informed me of the zeal and affection with which you, together with the army and the provincials, ſolemnized the day of my acceſſion to the empire.

LET-

LETTER LXII. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

THE debts which were owing to the public, are, by the prudence, Sir, of your councils, and the care of my adminiſtration, either actually paid, or are now recovering: but I am afraid the money muſt lie unemployed. For, as on one ſide, there are few or no opportunities of purchaſing land, ſo on the other, one cannot meet with any perſon who is willing to borrow of the [a] public (eſpecially at the intereſt of 12 *per cent.*) when they can raiſe money upon the ſame terms from private hands. You will therefore conſider, Sir, whether it may not be adviſeable, in order to invite reſponſible perſons to take this money, to lower the intereſt; or if that ſcheme ſhould not ſucceed, to place it in the hands of the Decurii, upon their giving ſufficient ſecurity to the public. And tho' they ſhould not be willing to receive it, yet as the rate of intereſt will be abated, the hardſhip will be ſo much the leſs.

[a] The reaſon why they did not chuſe to borrow of the public at the ſame rate of intereſt which they paid to private perſons, was (as one of the commentators obſerves) becauſe in the former inſtance, they were obliged to give ſecurity; whereas in the latter, they could raiſe money upon their perſonal credit.

LET-

LETTER LXIII. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

I Agree with you, my dear Pliny, that there ſeems to be no other method of facilitating the placing out of the public money, than by lowering the intereſt; the rate of which you will determine according to the number of borrowers. But to compel perſons to receive it, who are not ſo diſpoſed, when poſſibly they themſelves may have no opportunity of employing it; is by no means conſiſtent with the juſtice of my government.

LETTER LXIV. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

I Return you my warmeſt acknowledgments, Sir, that among the many important occupations in which you are engaged, you have condeſcended to be my guide in thoſe points wherein I have conſulted you: a favour which I muſt now again beſeech you to grant me. A certain perſon preſented himſelf to me with a complaint, that his adverſaries, who had been baniſhed for three years by the illuſtrious Servilius Calvus, ſtill remained in the province: they, on the contrary, affirmed that Calvus had revoked their ſentence, and produced his

his edict for that purpoſe: I thought it neceſſary therefore to refer the affair intirely to you. For, as I have your expreſs orders not to reſtore any perſon who has been ſentenced to baniſhment either by myſelf or others; ſo I have no directions with reſpect to thoſe, who having been baniſhed by ſome of my predeceſſors in this government, have by them alſo been reſtored. It is neceſſary for me, therefore, to beg you would inform me, Sir, how I am to act with regard to the above-mentioned perſons, as alſo to others, who after having been condemned to perpetual baniſhment, have been found in the province without permiſſion to return: for, caſes of that nature have likewiſe fallen under my cognizance. A perſon was brought before me who had been ſentenced to perpetual exile by the Proconſul Julius Baſſus; but as I knew that the acts of Baſſus, during his adminiſtration, had been reſcinded, and that the ſenate had granted leave to all thoſe who had fallen under his condemnation, of appealing from his deciſion at any time within the ſpace of two years; I enquired of this man whether he had accordingly ſtated his caſe to the Proconſul? He replied, he had not. I intreat you therefore to inform me whether you would have him ſent back into exile; or whether you think ſome more ſevere, and what kind of,

puniſhment ſhould be inflicted upon him, and ſuch others who may hereafter be found under the ſame circumſtances. I have annexed to my letter the decree of Calvus, together with the edict by which the perſons above mentioned were reſtored, as alſo the decree of Baſſus.

LETTER LXV. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

I WILL let you know my determination concerning thoſe exiles which were baniſhed for three years by the Proconſul P. Servilius Calvus, and ſoon afterwards reſtored to the province by his edict, when I ſhall have informed myſelf from him of the reaſons of this proceeding. With reſpect to that perſon who was ſentenced to perpetual baniſhment by Julius Baſſus, yet continued to remain in the province, without making his appeal, if he thought himſelf aggrieved, (tho' he had two years given him for that purpoſe) I would have him ſent in chains to my [a] prætorian Prefects; for, only

[a] Theſe, in the original inſtitution as ſettled by Auguſtus, were only commanders of his body-guards; but in the later times of the Roman empire, they were next in authority under the Emperor, to whom they ſeem to have acted as a ſort of prime miniſters.

only to remand him back to a puniſhment which he has contumaciouſly eluded, will by no means be a ſufficient chaſtiſement.

LETTER LXVI. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

WHEN I cited the judges, Sir, to attend me at a [a] ſeſſions which I was going to hold; Flavius Archippus claimed the privilege of being excuſed, as exerciſing the profeſſion of a [b] philoſopher. It was alledged by ſome who were preſent, that he ought not only to be excuſed from that office, but even ſtruck out of the roll of judges, and remanded back to the puniſhment from which he had eſcaped by breaking his chains. At the ſame time a ſentence of the Proconſul Velius Paullus was read, by which it appeared that Archippus had been condemned to the mines for forgery. He had nothing to produce in proof of this ſentence having ever been reverſed. He alledged, nevertheleſs, in favour of his reſtitution,

[a] The provinces were divided into a kind of circuits called *Conventus*, whither the Proconſuls uſed to go in order to adminiſter juſtice. The judges here mentioned muſt not be underſtood to mean the ſame ſort of judicial officers as with us; they were rather in the nature of our juries.

[b] By the imperial conſtitutions the philoſophers were exempted from all public functions. *Catanæus.*

a petition which he preſented to Domitian, together with a letter from that Prince and a decree of the Pruſenſians in his honour. To theſe he annexed a letter which he had received from you; as alſo an edict and a letter of your auguſt father confirming the grants which had been made to him by Domitian. For theſe reaſons, notwithſtanding crimes of ſo atrocious a nature were laid to his charge, I did not think proper to determine any thing concerning him, without firſt conſulting you; as it is an affair, which ſeems to merit your particular deciſion. I have tranſmitted to you, with this letter, the ſeveral allegations on both ſides.

DOMITIAN'S LETTER *to* TERENTIUS MAXIMUS.

" FLavius Archippus the philoſopher has pre-
" vailed with me to give an order for 600,000
" [a] ſeſterces to be laid out in the purchaſe of an
" eſtate for the ſupport of him and his family, in the
" neighbourhood of [b] Pruſias, his native country.

[a] About 4800 l. of our money.

[b] Geographers are not agreed where to place this city; Cellarius conjectures it may poſſibly be the ſame with *Pruſa ad Olympum*, Pruſa at the foot of Mount Olympus in Myſia, mentioned in Let. 85. of this book.

" Let this be done accordingly; and place that " ſum to the article of my benefactions."

From the ſame, to L. APPIUS MAXIMUS.

" I Recommend, my dear Maximus, to your " protection, that worthy philoſopher Archip- " pus, whoſe moral conduct is agreeable to the " principles of the philoſophy he profeſſes: and I " would have you pay great regard to whatever he " ſhall reaſonably requeſt."

The EDICT *of the Emperor* NERVA.

" THERE are ſome points, [a] Quirites, " concerning which the happy tenour of my " government is, I am perſuaded, a ſufficient in- " dication of my ſentiments; and a good prince " need not give expreſs declarations in matters " wherein his intentions cannot but be univerſally " underſtood. Every citizen in the empire will " bear me witneſs, that I gave up my private " repoſe to the ſecurity of the public, and in " order that I might have the pleaſure of diſ- " penſing new bounties of my own, as alſo of " confirming thoſe which had been granted by my " predeceſſors.

[a] A general appellation given to the Roman people.

" predeceſſors. But leſt the memory of him [b] who
" conferred theſe grants, or the diffidence of thoſe
" who received them, ſhould occaſion any inter-
" ruption to the public joy; I thought it no leſs
" neceſſary than it is agreeable to me to obviate
" theſe ſuſpicions, by aſſuring the perſons con-
" cerned of my indulgence. Let it not be thought
" that I ſhall reſcind either the public or private
" acts of any former Prince, in order to merit the
" credit of reſtoring them; nor need any who
" have received the gratifications of imperial fa-
" vour, petition me to have them confirmed.
" Rather let them leave me at leiſure for confer-
" ring new grants; under the aſſurance, that I am
" only to be ſolicited for thoſe bounties which
" have not already been obtained, and which the
" happier fortune of the empire has put it in my
" power to beſtow."

From the ſame, to TULLIUS JUSTUS.

" HAVING publicly declared my reſolution
" to confirm the edicts of my predeceſſors,
" and even thoſe alſo which may have been pre-
" vented by their deaths from being carried into
" effect; the directions contained in Domitian's
" reſcript muſt be obſerved."

[b] Domitian.

LETTER LXVII. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

FLavius Archippus has conjured me, by all my vows for your proſperity, and by your immortal glory, that I would tranſmit to you the memorial which he preſented to me. I could not refuſe a requeſt preſſed upon me in *ſuch* terms; however, I acquainted the proſecutrix with this my intention, from whom I have alſo received a memorial on her part. I have annexed them both to this letter; that by hearing, as it were, each party, you may the better be enabled to decide.

LETTER LXVIII. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

IT is poſſible that Domitian might be ignorant of the circumſtances in which Archippus was, when he wrote the letter ſo much to that philoſopher's credit. However, it is more agreeable to my diſpoſition to ſuppoſe that prince deſigned

he ſhould be reſtored to his former ſituation; eſpecially ſince he ſo often had the honour of a ſtatue decreed to him by thoſe, who could not be [a] ignorant of the ſentence pronounced againſt him by the Proconſul Paullus. But I do not mean to intimate, my dear Pliny, that if any new charge ſhould be brought, you ſhould be the leſs diſpoſed to hear his accuſers. I have examined the memorial of his proſecutrix, Furia Prima, as alſo that of Archippus himſelf, which you ſent with your letter.

[a] In the text of all the editions it is *qui ignorabant*, but the reaſoning ſeems to require the negative particle; though the commentators have paſſed over the paſſage without objection.

LETTER LXIX. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

THE apprehenſions you expreſs, Sir[a], that the lake will be in danger of being entirely drained, if a communication ſhould be opened between that and the ſea, by means of the river, are agreeable to that ſagacity you ſo eminently poſſeſs; but I think I have found a method to obviate that inconvenience. A channel may be cut from the lake to the river, and a narrow ſlip of land left between them. By theſe means the water in the lake will not only be preſerved and kept diſtinct from the river, but the ſame purpoſes will be anſwer'd as if they were united; for, it will be very eaſy to convey over that little intervening ridge, whatever goods ſhall be brought down by the canal. This is a ſcheme which may be purſued, if it ſhould be found neceſſary; but I hope there will be no occaſion to have recourſe to it. For, in the firſt place, the lake itſelf is conſiderably deep; and in the next, by damming up a river which runs from it on the oppoſite ſide, and turning its courſe as we ſhall find expedient, the ſame quantity of water may ſtill be retained. Beſides, there are ſeveral

[a] See letters 50 and 51 of this Book.

ſeveral little brooks near the place where it is propoſed the channel ſhall be cut, which if ſkilfully collected, will ſupply the lake with water in proportion to what it ſhall diſcharge. But if you ſhould rather approve of the channel's being extended farther, and cut narrower, and ſo conveyed directly into the ſea, without running into the river; the reflux of the tide will return whatever it receives from the lake. After all, if the nature of the place ſhould not admit of any of theſe ſchemes, the courſe of the water may be checked by ſluices. Theſe, however, and many other particulars, will be more ſkilfully examined into by the engineer, whom, agreeably to your promiſe, I hope you will ſend; for indeed, Sir, it is an enterprize well worthy of your attention and magnificence. In the mean while I have written to the illuſtrious Calpurnius Macer, in purſuance of your orders, to ſend me a ſkilful engineer proper for this occaſion.

LETTER LXX. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

IT is evident, my dear Pliny, that neither your prudence nor your care have been wanting in this affair of the lake; ſince, in order to render it of more general benefit, you have provided ſo

many expedients againſt the hazard of its being drained. I leave it to your own choice to purſue which-ever of the ſchemes ſhall be thought moſt proper. Calphurnius Macer will furniſh you, no doubt, with an engineer, as artiſts of that kind are not wanting in his province.

LETTER LXXI. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

A Very conſiderable queſtion, Sir, in which this whole province is intereſted, has been lately ſtarted, concerning the [a] ſtate and maintenance of deſerted children. I have examined the conſtitutions of former Princes upon this head, but not finding any thing in them relating either in general or particular, to the Bithynians, I thought it neceſſary to apply to you for your directions: for, in a point which ſeems to require the ſpecial interpoſition of your authority, I could not content myſelf with following precedents. An edict of the Emperor Auguſtus (as pretended) was read to me concerning one Annia; as alſo a letter from Veſpaſian to the Lacedæmonians, and another from Titus to the ſame, with one likewiſe from him to the Achæans. At the ſame time ſome letters from

[a] That is, whether they ſhould be conſidered in a ſtate of freedom or ſlavery.

from Domitian were exhibited to me, directed to the Proconſul Avidius Nigrinus, and Armenius Brocchus, together with one from that Prince to the Lacedæmonians: but I have not tranſmitted them to you, as well becauſe they were not correct (and ſome of them too of ſuſpicious authority) as becauſe I imagine, the true copies are preſerved in your archives.

LETTER LXXII. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

THE queſtion concerning ſuch children who were expoſed by their parents, and afterwards preſerved by others, and educated in a ſtate of ſervitude, tho' born free, has been frequently diſcuſſed; but I do not find in the conſtitutions of the Princes my predeceſſors, any general regulation upon this head, extending to all the provinces. There are, indeed, ſome reſcripts of Domitian to Avidius Nigrinus and Armenius Brocchus, which ought to be obſerved; but Bithynia is not comprehended in the provinces therein mentioned. I am of opinion therefore, that the claims of thoſe who aſſert their right of freedom upon this principle, ſhould be allowed without compelling them to purchaſe their liberty by re-paying the money advanced for their maintenance.

LET-

LETTER LXXIII. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

HAving been petitioned by certain perſons to grant them the liberty (agreeably to the practice of former Proconſuls) to remove the relics of their deceaſed relations, ſuggeſting that either their monuments were decayed by age, or ruined by the inundations of the river, or for other reaſons of the ſame kind; I thought proper, Sir, knowing that in caſes of this nature it is uſual at Rome to apply to the college of Prieſts, to conſult you, who are the ſovereign of that ſacred order, how you would have me act in this matter.

LETTER LXXIV. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

IT will be a hardſhip upon the provincials to oblige them to addreſs themſelves to the college of Prieſts, whenever they may have juſt reaſons for removing the aſhes of their anceſtors. In this caſe therefore, it will be better you ſhould follow the example of the governours your predeceſſors, and grant or deny them this liberty as you ſhall ſee reaſonable.

LET-

LETTER LXXV. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

I Have enquired, Sir, at Pruſa, for a proper place on which to erect the bath you were pleaſed to permit that city to build; and I have found one to my ſatisfaction. It is upon the ſite where formerly, I am told, ſtood a very beautiful fabric, but which is now entirely fallen into ruins. By fixing upon that ſpot, we ſhall gain the advantage of ornamenting the city in a part which at preſent is exceedingly deformed, and enlarging it at the ſame time without removing any of the preſent edifices; only rebuilding one which is fallen to decay. There are ſome circumſtances attending this laſt ſtructure, of which it is proper I ſhould inform you. Claudius Polyænus bequeathed it to the emperor Claudius Cæſar, with directions that a temple ſhould be erected to that Prince in the midſt of a piazza; and that the remainder of the edifice ſhould be let out in apartments. The city received the rents for a conſiderable time; but the piazza, together with the whole dome, partly by having been plundered, and partly by being neglected, is entirely gone to ruin, and there is now ſcarce any thing remaining but the ground upon which it ſtood. If you ſhould think proper, Sir, either to give or ſell this ſpot of ground to the city,

as it lyes ſo conveniently for their purpoſe, they will receive the favour as the higheſt mark of your indulgence. I intend, with your permiſſion, to place the bath in the vacant area, and to extend a range of porticos with ſeats, in that part where the former edifice ſtood. This new erection I deſign to dedicate to you, by whoſe bounty it will riſe with all the elegance and magnificence worthy of your glorious name. I have ſent you a copy of the will, by which, tho' it is incorrect, you will ſee, that Polyænus left ſeveral ornamental articles for the embelliſhment of this houſe; but theſe alſo are loſt with all the reſt: I will however make the ſtricteſt enquiry after them that I am able.

LETTER LXXVI. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

I Have no objection to the Pruſenſes making uſe of the area together wih the untenanted houſe, which you ſay is fallen into ruins, for the ſituation of their bath. But is not ſufficiently clear by your letter, whether the temple in the center of the piazza was actually dedicated to Claudius or not; for if it were, it is ſtill conſecrated ground [a].

[a] And conſequently by the Roman laws unapplicable to any other purpoſe.

LET-

LETTER LXXVII. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

I Have been preſſed by ſome perſons to take upon myſelf the cognizance of cauſes relating to claims of freedom by birth-right, agreeably to a reſcript of Domitian's to Minucius Rufus, and to the practice of former Proconſuls. But upon caſting my eye on the decree of the ſenate concerning caſes of this nature, I find it only mentions [a] the Proconſular provinces. I have therefore, Sir, deferred interfering in this affair, till I ſhall receive your commands how you would have me act.

[a] The Roman provinces in the times of the Emperors, were of two ſorts, and diſtinguiſhed by the name of the *Provinciæ Cæſaris*, and the *Provinciæ Senatus*. The *Provinciæ Cæſaris*, or Imperial provinces, were ſuch as the Emperor, for reaſons of policy, reſerved to his own immediate adminiſtration, or of thoſe whom he thought proper to appoint: The *Provinciæ Senatus*, or Proconſular provinces, were ſuch as he left to the government of Proconſuls, or Prætors, choſen in the ordinary method of election. [*Vid. Suet. in Aug.* c. 44. n. 1.] Of the former kind was Bithynia, at the time when our author preſided in that province. *Vid. Maſſon. vit. Plin.* p. 133.

LET-

LETTER LXXVIII. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

IF you will ſend me the decree of the ſenate, which occaſioned your doubt, I ſhall be able to judge, whether it is proper you ſhould take cognizance of cauſes relating to claims of freedom by birth-right.

LETTER LXXIX. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

JUlius Largus, of the province of [a] Pontica, (a perſon whom I never ſaw, nor indeed ever heard his name till lately) in confidence, Sir, of your diſtinguiſhing judgment in my favour, has intruſted me with the execution of the laſt inſtance of his loyalty towards you. He has left me by his will, his eſtate upon truſt, in the firſt place to receive out of it 50,000 ſeſterces [b] for my own uſe, and to apply the remainder for the benefit of the cities of [c] Heraclea and Tios, either by erecting ſome public edifice dedicated to your honour, or inſtituting Athletic games, as I ſhall judge proper. Theſe

[a] A province in Aſia, bordering upon the black ſea, and by ſome ancient geographers conſidered as one province with Bithynia.

[b] About 400 l. ſterling.

[c] Cities of Pontus near the Euxine or black ſea.

Theſe games are to be celebrated every five years, and to be called *Trajan's games*. My principal reaſon for acquainting you with this bequeſt is, that I may receive your directions which of the reſpective alternatives to chooſe.

LETTER LXXX. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

BY the prudent choice Julius Largus has made of a truſtee, one would imagine he had known you perfectly well. You will conſider then which of the alternatives will moſt tend to perpetuate the teſtator's memory, under the circumſtances of the reſpective cities; and make your option accordingly.

LETTER LXXXI. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

YOU acted agreeably, Sir, to your uſual conſummate prudence, when you ordered the illuſtrious Calpurnius Macer to ſend a legionary centurion to Byzantium[a]: You will conſider whether the city of Juliopolis does not alſo deſerve the ſame attention; which, tho' it is extremely ſmall, ſuſtains very great burthens, and is ſo much the more expoſed to oppreſſions, as it is leſs capable of reſiſting them. Whatever benefits you ſhall confer

[a] Conſtantinople.

conſer upon that city, will in effect be advantageous to the whole country; for, it is ſituated at the entrance of Bithynia, and is the town thro' which all who travel into this province generally paſs.

LETTER LXXXII. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

THE circumſtances of the city of Byzantium are ſuch, by the great confluence of ſtrangers to it, that I thought it incumbent upon me to honour it with a legionary centurion's guard, which was always granted to them in former reigns. But if we ſhould diſtinguiſh the city of Juliopolis in the ſame manner, it will be introducing a precedent for many other towns, whoſe claim to that favour will riſe in proportion to their want of ſtrength. I have ſo much confidence, however, in your adminiſtration, as to believe you will omit no method of protecting them from injuries. If any perſon ſhall act contrary to the diſcipline I have enjoined, let them be inſtantly corrected; or if they happen to be ſoldiers and their crimes ſhould be too enormous for immediate chaſtiſement; I would have them ſent to their officers, with an account of the particular miſdemeanour you ſhall find they have committed: but if the delinquents ſhould be on their way to Rome, inform me by letter.

LET-

LETTER LXXXIII. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

BY a law of [a] Pompey's concerning the Bithynians, it is enacted, Sir, that no perſon ſhall be a magiſtrate, or be choſen into the ſenate under the age of thirty. By the ſame law it is declared, that thoſe who have exerciſed the office of magiſtrate, are qualified to be members of the ſenate. Subſequent to this law, the Emperor Auguſtus publiſhed an edict, by which it was ordained, that perſons of the age of twenty-two ſhould be capable of being magiſtrates. The queſtion therefore is, whether thoſe who have exerciſed the functions of a magiſtrate before the age of thirty, may be legally choſen into the ſenate by the [b] Cenſors? And if ſo, whether, by the ſame kind of conſtruction, they may be elected ſenators, at the age which en-

[a] Pompey the Great having ſubdued Mithridates, and by that means greatly enlarged the Roman empire, paſſed ſeveral laws relating to the newly-conquered provinces, and, among others, that which is here mentioned; as Catanæus obſerves from Appian.

[b] The right of electing ſenators did not originally belong to the Cenſors, who were only, as Tully ſomewhere calls them, *Guardians of the diſcipline and manners of the city*; but in proceſs of time, they engroſſed the whole privilege of conferring that honour.

titles them to be magiſtrates, tho' they ſhould not actually have borne any office? For, this cuſtom, it ſeems, has hitherto been obſerved, and is ſaid to be expedient; as it is rather more advantageous that perſons of noble birth ſhould be admitted into the ſenate, than thoſe of Plebeian rank. The Cenſors elect having deſired my ſentiments upon this point, I was of opinion, that both by the law of Pompey and the edict of Auguſtus, they who had exerciſed the magiſtracy before the age of thirty, might be choſen into the ſenate: and for this reaſon; becauſe the edict allows the office of magiſtrate to be undertaken before thirty, and the law declares, that whoever has been a magiſtrate, ſhould be eligible into the ſenate. But with reſpect to thoſe who never diſcharged any office in the ſtate, tho' they were of the age required for that purpoſe, I had ſome doubt; and therefore, Sir, I apply to you for your directions. I have ſubjoined to this letter the heads of the law, together with the edict of Auguſtus.

LET-

LETTER LXXXIV. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

I Agree with you, my dear Pliny, in your conſtruction; and am of opinion that the law of Pompey is ſo far repealed by the edict of the emperor Auguſtus, that thoſe perſons who are not under twenty-two years of age may execute the office of magiſtrates, and be received into the ſenate of their reſpective cities. But I think that they who are under thirty years of age, and have not diſcharged the function of a magiſtrate, cannot, upon pretence that in point of years they were competent to the office, legally be elected into the ſenate of their ſeveral communities.

LETTER LXXXV. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

WHILST I was diſpatching at my apartments in Pruſa [a], ſome affairs, Sir, relating to the public, with an intention of leaving that city the ſame day; Aſclepiades, a magiſtrate, informed me, that Eumolpus had appealed to me from a motion which Cocceianus Dion made in their ſe-

[a] At the foot of Mount Olymous.

nate. Dion, it ſeems, having been appointed ſupervisor of a public edifice, deſired that it might be aſſigned [b] to the city in form. Eumolpus, who attended as counſel for Flavius Archippus, inſiſted that Dion ſhould firſt be required to deliver in his accounts relating to this work, before it ſhould be aſſigned to the corporation; ſuggeſting that he had not performed his office in a requiſite manner. He added at the ſame time, that in this building, in which your ſtatue is erected, the bodies of Dion's wife and ſon are entombed [c]; and urged me to hear this cauſe in the public court of judicature. Upon my aſſenting to his requeſt, and deferring my journey for that purpoſe; he deſired a longer day in order to prepare matters for the hearing, and that I would try this cauſe in ſome other city. I appointed the city of Nicea: and accordingly having taken my ſeat on the tribunal, Eumolpus, pretending

[b] This, probably, was ſome act whereby the city was to ratify and confirm the proceedings of Dion under the commiſſion aſſigned to him.

[c] It was a notion which generally prevailed with the ancients, in the Jewiſh as well as Heathen world, that there was a pollution in the contact of dead bodies, and this they extended to the very houſe in which the corpſe lay, and even to the uncovered veſſels that ſtood in the ſame room. [*Vid. Pot. Antiq.* v. 2. 188.] From ſome ſuch opinion as this it is probable, that the circumſtance here mentioned of placing Trajan's ſtatue where theſe bodies were depoſited, was eſteemed as a mark of diſrepect to his perſon.

pretending not to be yet ſufficiently prepared, moved that the trial might be again put off: Dion, on the contrary, inſiſted it ſhould be now heard. They debated this point very fully on both ſides, and entered a little into the merits of the cauſe; when being of opinion, that it was reaſonable it ſhould be adjourned, and thinking it proper to adviſe with you in an affair which was of conſequence in point of example, I directed them to exhibit the articles of their reſpective allegations, in writing: for, I was deſirous you ſhould judge from their own expreſs repreſentations, of the ſtate of the queſtion between them. Dion promiſed to comply with this direction; as Eumolpus alſo aſſured me he would draw up a memorial of what he had to alledge on the part of the community. But he added, that being only concerned as advocate on behalf of Archippus, whoſe inſtructions he had already laid before me, he had nothing to charge with reſpect to the ſepulchres. Archippus however, for whom Eumolpus was counſel here, as at Pruſa, aſſured me he would himſelf preſent a charge in form with reſpect to this laſt article. But neither Eumolpus nor Archippus (tho' I have waited ſeveral days for that purpoſe) have yet performed their engagement: Dion indeed has; and I have annexed his memorial to this letter. I have in-

ſpected the buildings in queſtion, where I find your ſtatue is placed in a library; and as to the edifice in which the bodies of Dion's wife and ſon are ſaid to be depoſited; it ſtands in the middle of an area ſurrounded with a colonade. Deign, therefore, I intreat you, Sir, to direct my judgment in the determination of this cauſe above all others, as it is a point to which the public is greatly attentive. And, indeed, it highly deſerves a very mature deliberation, ſince the fact is not only acknowledged, but countenanced by many precedents.

LETTER LXXXVI. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

YOU well know, my dear Pliny, that it is my fixed maxim not to render myſelf an object of terror, either by ſevere and rigorous meaſures of government, or by encouraging accuſations of treaſon againſt the reſpect due to my perſon: you had no reaſon, therefore, to heſitate a moment upon the point, concerning which you thought proper to conſult me. Without entering into the merits of the queſtion, (to which I would by no means give any attention, tho' there were ever ſo many inſtances of the ſame kind) I recommend to your care the examining of Dion's accounts relating to the public works which he has finiſhed;

finiſhed; as it is a caſe in which the intereſt of the city is concerned, and as Dion neither ought, nor, it ſeems, does refuſe, to ſubmit to the examination.

LETTER LXXXVII. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

THE Niceans having, in the name of their community, conjured me, Sir, by all my hopes and wiſhes for your proſperity and immortal glory (an adjuration which is and ought to be moſt ſacred to me) to preſent to you their petition; I did not, think myſelf at liberty to refuſe them: I have therefore annexed it to this letter.

LETTER LXXXVIII. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

THE Niceans, I find, claim a right, by an edict of Auguſtus, to the eſtate of every citizen who dies inteſtate. You will therefore ſummon the ſeveral parties intereſted in this queſtion, and with the aſſiſtance of Epimachus and Gemellinus, my Procurators (having duly weighed every argument that ſhall be alledged againſt the claim) determine as ſhall appear moſt equitable.

LETTER LXXXIX. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

MAY this and many ſucceeding birth-days be attended, Sir, with the higheſt felicity to you; and may you, in the midſt of an uninterrupted courſe of health and proſperity, be ſtill adding to the increaſe of that immortal glory, which your virtues juſtly merit!

LETTER XC. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

YOUR wiſhes, my dear Pliny, for my enjoyment of many happy birth-days amidſt the glory and proſperity of the republic, were extremely agreeable to me.

LETTER XCI. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

THE city of [a] Sinope is ill ſupplied, Sir, with water, which however may be brought thither from about ſixteen miles diſtance, in great plenty and perfection. The ground indeed, near the ſource of this ſpring, is, for ſomewhat more than

[a] In the province of Pontica.

than a mile, of a very ſuſpicious and looſe nature; but I have directed an examination to be made (which will be effected at a ſmall expence) whether it is ſufficiently firm to ſupport any ſuperſtructure. I have taken care to provide a ſuitable fund for this purpoſe, if you ſhould approve, Sir, of a work ſo conducive to the health and pleaſure of this colony greatly diſtreſſed by a ſcarcity of water.

LETTER XCII. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

I Would have you proceed, my dear Pliny, in carefully examining, whether the ground you ſuſpect, is firm enough to ſupport an aquæduct. For, I have no manner of doubt that it is proper the city of Sinope ſhould be ſupplied with water; provided their finances will bear the expence of a work ſo conducive to their health and pleaſure.

LETTER XCIII. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

THE free and confederate city of [a] Amiſus enjoys, by your indulgence, the privilege of being governed by its own laws. A memorial having

[a] A colony of Athenians in the province of Pontica.

having been there preſented to me concerning a charitable [b] inſtitution, I have ſubjoined it to this letter, that you may conſider, Sir, whether, and how far, this ſociety ought to be licenſed or prohibited.

LETTER XCIV. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

IF the prayer of the petition of the Amiſeni which you have tranſmitted to me, concerning the eſtabliſhment of a charitable ſociety, be agreeable to their own laws, which by the articles of alliance it is ſtipulated they ſhall enjoy, I ſhall not oppoſe it; eſpecially if theſe contributions are employed, not for the purpoſes of riot and faction, but for the ſupport of the indigent. In other cities however, which are ſubject to our laws, I would have all aſſemblies of this nature prohibited.

[b] The learned Caſaubon, in his obſervations upon Theophraſtus (as cited by one of the commentators) informs us that there were at Athens and other cities of Greece, certain fraternities, which paid into a common cheſt a monthly contribution towards the ſupport of ſuch of their members who had fallen into misfortunes; upon condition that if ever they arrived to more proſperous circumſtances, they ſhould repay into the general fund the money ſo advanced.

LETTER XCV. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

SUetonius Tranquillus, Sir, is a perſon of great probity and learning, as well as of noble birth. I was ſo much pleaſed with his diſpoſition and manners, that I long ſince invited him into my family, as my conſtant gueſt and domeſtic friend; and my affection for him increaſed the more I diſcovered of his character. Two reaſons concur to render the privilege [a] which the law grants to thoſe

[a] By the law for encouragement of matrimony (ſome account of which has already been given in the notes above) thoſe who lived batchelors, were declared incapable of inheriting any legacy by will; ſo likewiſe if being married, they had no children, they could not claim the full advantage of benefactions of that kind: * Thus Nævolus in Juvenal, very humorouſly urges his gallantries in his friend's family, as a meritorious piece of ſervice which he had done him.

Nullum ergo meritum eſt, ingrate ac perfide, nullum,
Quod tibi filiolus, vel filia naſcitur ex me?—
Jura parentis habes; propter me *ſcriberis heres;*
Legatum omne *capis, nec non & dulce caducum.*
Sat. 9. v. 82, &c.

And ow'ſt thou nothing then, ingrate! to me,
That from my loins you ſons and daughters ſee?
A parent's privilege by *me* you gain,
And the rich legacy in *full* obtain.

Pliny therefore alludes to this law, when he mentions the bounties of Tranquillus's deceaſed friends, as one reaſon why it was expedient for him to obtain the *jus trium liberorum*, viz. in order to entitle him to the full benefit of their ſeveral bequeſts.

* Lipſii excurſ. in Tac. an. 3. c. 24.

thoſe who have three children, particularly neceſſary to him; I mean, the bounty of his friends, and the ill ſucceſs of his marriage. Thoſe advantages therefore, which nature has denied to him, he hopes to obtain from your goodneſs, by my interceſſion. I am thoroughly ſenſible, Sir, of the value of the privilege I am aſking; but I know too I am aſking it from one, whoſe gracious compliance with all my deſires, I have amply experienced. How paſſionately I wiſh to do ſo in the preſent inſtance, you will judge by my thus requeſting it in my abſence; which I would not, had it not been a favour which I am more than commonly anxious to obtain.

LETTER CXVI. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

YOU cannot but be perfectly ſenſible, my dear Pliny, how reſerved I am in granting favours of the kind you deſire; having frequently declared in the ſenate, that I had not exceeded the number which I aſſured that illuſtrious order I would be contented with. I have yielded, however, to your requeſt; and have directed it to be inſerted in my regiſter, that I have conferred upon Tranquillus, on my uſual conditions, the privilege which the law grants to thoſe who have three children.

LETTER [a] XCVII. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

IT is a rule, Sir, which I inviolably obſerve, to refer myſelf to you in all my doubts; for, who is more capable of removing my ſcruples, or informing my ignorance? Having never been preſent at any trials concerning thoſe perſons who are Chriſtians, I am unacquainted not only with the nature of their crimes, or the meaſure of their puniſhment, but how far it is proper to enter into an examination concerning them. Whether therefore any difference is uſually made with reſpect to the ages of the guilty, or no diſtinction is to be obſerved between the young and the adult; whether repentance intitles them to a pardon; or if a man has been once a Chriſtian, it avails nothing to deſiſt from his error; whether the very profeſſion of Chriſtianity, unattended with any criminal act, or only the crimes themſelves inherent

[a] This letter is eſteemed as almoſt the only genuine monument of eccleſiaſtical antiquity relating to the times immediately ſucceeding the Apoſtles, it being written not above forty years at moſt after the death of St. Paul. It was preſerved by the Chriſtians themſelves as a clear and unſuſpicious evidence of the purity of their doctrines; and is frequently appealed to by the early writers of the church againſt the calumnies of their adverſaries.

herent in the profeſſion are puniſhable; in all theſe points I am greatly doubtful. In the mean while the method I have obſerved towards thoſe who have been brought before me as Chriſtians, is this: I interrogated them whether they were Chriſtians: if they confeſſed, I repeated the queſtion twice, adding threats at the ſame time; and if they ſtill perſevered, I ordered them to be immediately puniſhed. For, I was perſuaded, whatever the nature of their opinions might be, a contumacious and inflexible obſtinacy certainly deſerved correction. There were others alſo brought before me poſſeſſed with the ſame infatuation, but being [b] citizens of Rome, I directed that they ſhould be conveyed thither. But this crime ſpreading (as is uſually the caſe) while it was actually under proſecution, ſeveral inſtances of the ſame nature occurred. An information was preſented to me without any name ſubſcribed, containing a charge againſt ſeveral perſons: theſe, upon examination, denied they were, or ever had been, Chriſtians. They repeated after me an invocation to the gods, and offered religious rites with

[b] It was one of the privileges of a Roman citizen, ſecured by the Sempronian law, that he could not be capitally convicted but by the ſuffrage of the people; which ſeems to have been ſtill ſo far in force, as to make it neceſſary to ſend the perſons here mentioned to Rome.

with wine and frankincenſe before your ſtatue; (which for that purpoſe I had ordered to be brought together with thoſe of the Gods) and even reviled the name of Chriſt; whereas there is no forcing, it is ſaid, thoſe who are really Chriſtians, into any of theſe compliances. I thought it proper therefore, to diſcharge them. Some among thoſe who were accuſed by a witneſs in perſon, at firſt confeſſed themſelves Chriſtians, but immediately after denied it; the reſt own'd indeed they had been of that number formerly, but had now (ſome above three, others more, and a few above twenty years ago) renounced that errour. They all worſhipped your ſtatue and the images of the Gods, uttering imprecations at the ſame time againſt the name of Chriſt. They affirmed the whole of their guilt, or their errour, was, that they met on a certain ſtated day before it was light, and addreſſed themſelves in a form of prayer to Chriſt, as to ſome God, binding themſelves by a ſolemn oath, not for the purpoſes of any wicked deſign, but never to commit any fraud, theft, or adultery, never to falſify their word, nor deny a truſt when they ſhould be called upon to deliver it up: after which, it was their cuſtom to ſeparate, and then re-aſſemble, to eat in common a harmleſs meal. From this cuſtom, however, they deſiſted after

after the publication of my edict, by which, according to your commands, I forbade the meeting of any aſſemblies. In conſequence of this their declaration, I judged it the more neceſſary to endeavour to extort the real truth, by putting two female ſlaves to the torture, who were ſaid to officiate [a] in their religious functions; but all I could diſcover was, that theſe people were actuated by an abſurd and exceſſive ſuperſtition. I deemed it expedient, therefore, to adjourn all farther proceedings, in order to conſult you. For, it appears to be a matter highly deſerving your conſideration; more eſpecially as great numbers muſt be involved in the danger of theſe proſecutions, which have already extended, and are ſtill likely to extend, to perſons of all ranks and ages, and even of both ſexes. In fact, this contagious ſuperſtition is not confined to the cities only, but has ſpread its infection among the neighbouring villages and country. Nevertheleſs, it ſtill ſeems poſſible to reſtrain its progreſs. The temples, at leaſt, which were once almoſt

[a] Theſe women, it is ſuppoſed, exerciſed the ſame office as Phœbe mentioned by St. Paul, whom he ſtiles Deaconeſs of the church of Cenchrea. Their buſineſs was to tend the poor and ſick, and other charitable offices; as alſo to aſſiſt at the ceremony of female baptiſm, for the more decent performance of that rite: as Voſſius obſerves upon this paſſage.

almoſt deſerted, begin now to be frequented; and the ſacred ſolemnities, after a long intermiſſion are revived; to which I muſt add, there is again alſo a general demand for the victims, which for ſome time paſt had met with but few purchaſers. From the circumſtances I have mentioned, it is eaſy to conjecture what numbers might be reclaimed, if a general pardon were granted to thoſe who ſhall repent of their error.

LETTER XCVIII. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

THE method you have purſued, my dear Pliny, in the proceedings againſt thoſe Chriſtians which were brought before you, is extremely proper; as it is not poſſible to lay down any fixed rule by which to act in all caſes of this nature. But I would not have you *officiouſly* enter into any enquiries concerning them. If indeed they ſhould be brought before you, and the crime ſhould be proved, they muſt be puniſhed[a]; with this reſtriction

[a] If we impartially examine the preſent inſtance of the perſecution of the Chriſtians, we ſhall find it to have been grounded on the ancient conſtitution of the ſtate, and not to have proceeded from an arbitrary or intolerant ſpirit in Trajan. The Roman legiſlature appears to have been early jealous of any innovation in point of public worſhip; and we find the magiſtrates,

ſtriction however; that where the party denies he is a Chriſtian, and ſhall make it evident that he is not by invoking our Gods; let him (notwithſtanding any former ſuſpicion) be pardoned upon

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magiſtrates, during the old republic, frequently interpoſing in caſes of that nature. Valerius Maximus has collected ſome inſtances to that purpoſe, [L. 1. c. 3.] and Livy mentions it as an eſtabliſhed principle of the earlier ages of the commonwealth, to guard againſt the introduction of foreign ceremonies of religion. *Quoties* (ſays that excellent hiſtorian, ſpeaking in the perſon of one of the conſuls who is addreſſing himſelf to the people) *quoties hoc patrum avorumque ætate negotium eſt magiſtratibus datum, ut ſacra externa fieri vetarent? Judicabant enim prudentiſſimi viri—nihil æque diſſolvendæ religionis eſſe, quam ubi non patrio, ſed externo ritu ſacrificaretur.* [L. 39. c. 16.] It was an old and invariable maxim likewiſe of the Roman government, not to ſuffer any unlicenſed aſſemblies of the people; as the reader muſt have obſerved by ſeveral of the preceding letters in this book: and to that fact Livy alſo bears witneſs; *Majores veſtri* (ſays the hiſtorian) *ne vos quidem niſi quum*, &c. *ſorte temere coire noluerunt; & ubicunque multitudo eſſet, ibi et legitimum rectorem multitudinis cenſebant debere eſſe.* [L. 36. c. 25.]

The circumſtance that attended the Chriſtian aſſemblies being held at an unuſual hour *(ante lucem,)* ſeems to have raiſed a ſurmiſe, that they were of the Bacchanalian kind. For it is extremely obſervable, that in the account which the Chriſtians here give of the true deſign of their meeting, they juſtify themſelves from the very crimes with which the Bacchanalians had been charged; intimating, it ſhould ſeem, that they themſelves had been taxed with the ſame: *ſe ſacramento non ad ſcelus aliquod obſtringere; ſed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem falſerent*, &c. which runs exactly parallel with the accuſation againſt the Bacchanalians, as it ſtands in Livy: *Nec unum genus noxæ, ſtupra promiſcua*, &c. *ſed falſi teſtes, falſa ſigna teſtimoniaque & indicia ex eadem officina exibant.* [Liv. l. 39. c. 8.]

Upon the whole then it appears evident, that theſe primitive Chriſtians, deeply impreſſed with the evidence of the holy religion

his repentance. Informations without the accuſer's name ſubſcribed, ought not to be received in proſecutions of any ſort; as it is introducing a very dangerous precedent, and by no means agreeable to the equity of my government.

LETTER XCIX. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

THE elegant and beautiful city of [a] Amaſtris, Sir, has, among other capital buildings, a moſt noble and extenſive piazza. On one entire ſide of this ſtructure runs, what is called indeed a river, but in effect is no other than a vile common ſhore, extremely offenſive to the eye, and at the ſame time very unwholſome by its noxious vapours. It will be advantageous therefore in point of health, as well as ornament, to have it covered; which ſhall be done, with your permiſſion: as I will take care, on my part, that money be not wanting for executing ſo noble and neceſſary a work.

gion they profeſſed, nobly dared at all hazard to render themſelves obnoxious, not particularly indeed to Trajan, but to the *antient* and *intolerant* laws of the ſtate; by refuſing to join in communion with the *eſtabliſhed* worſhip, by aſſembling themſelves without *legal* authority, and by holding their meetings at a ſuſpicious hour of the night.

[a] Situated on the black ſea, in the province of Pontus.

LETTER C. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

IT is highly reaſonable, my dear Pliny, if the water which runs thro' the city of Amaſtris is prejudicial to the health of the inhabitants, that it ſhould be covered. I am well aſſured you will, with your uſual attention, take care that the money neceſſary for this work ſhall not be wanting.

LETTER CI. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

WE have celebrated, Sir, with great joy and feſtivity, thoſe votive ſolemnities which were publickly proclaimed as formerly, and renewed them the preſent year, accompanied by the ſoldiers and provincials; who zealouſly joined with us in imploring the Gods, that they would be graciouſly pleaſed to preſerve you and the republick in that ſtate of proſperity, which your many and great virtues, particularly your piety towards them, ſo juſtly merit.

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LETTER CII. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

IT was very agreeable to me to learn by your letter, that the army and the provincials joyfully ſeconded you with great unanimity, in thoſe vows which you paid and renewed to the immortal Gods, for my preſervation and proſperity.

LETTER CIII. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

WE have celebrated, with all the warmth of that pious zeal we juſtly ought, the day in which, by a very happy ſucceſſion, the protection of the empire was delivered into your hands; recommending to the Gods, by whoſe gracious favour you received the ſovereignty, the object of our public vows and congratulations.

LETTER CIV. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

I Was extremely well pleaſed to be informed by your letter that you had, at the head of the ſoldiers and the provincials, ſolemnized my acceſſion to the empire, with all due joy and zeal.

LETTER CV. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

VAlerius Paulinus, Sir, having bequeathed to me the right[a] of patronage over all his freedmen, except one; I intreat you to grant the freedom of Rome to three of them. To desire you to extend this favour to all of them, would, I fear, be too unreasonable a trespass upon your indulgence; which, having amply experienced, I ought to be so much the more cautious in troubling. The persons for whom I make this request are, C. Valerius Æstiæus, C. Valerius Dionysius, and C. Valerius Aper.

LETTER CVI. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

YOU act in a most worthy manner by consulting the interest of those persons whom Valerius Paulinus has confided to your trust; I cannot therefore but encourage you, as far as depends

[a] By the Papian law, which passed in the consulship of M. Papius Mutilus and Q. Poppeas Secundus. U. C. 761. if a freedman died worth a hundred thousand sesterces, (or about 800 l. of our money) leaving only one child; his patron, (that is, the master from whom he received his liberty) was entitled to half his estate; if he left two children, to one third; but if more than two, the patron was absolutely excluded. This was afterwards altered by Justinian, *Inst. l.* 3. *tit.* 8.

pends upon me, to loſe no time for that purpoſe. I have accordingly granted the freedom of the city to ſuch of his freedmen, for whom you requeſted it, and have directed the patent to be regiſter'd: I am ready to confer the ſame on the reſt, whenever you ſhall deſire me.

LETTER CVII. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

P. Accius Aquila, captain of the ſixth equeſtrian cohort, requeſted me, Sir, to tranſmit his petition to you, in favour of his daughter. I thought it would be unkind to refuſe him this good office, knowing, as I do, with what patience and humanity you attend to the petitions of the ſoldiers.

LETTER CVIII. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

I Have read the petition of P. Accius Aquila, captain of the ſixth equeſtrian cohort, which you ſent to me; and in compliance with his requeſt, I have conferred upon his daughter the freedom of the city of Rome. I ſend you at the ſame time the patent, which you will deliver to him.

LETTER CIX. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

I Requeſt, Sir, your directions with reſpect to the recovering of thoſe debts which are due to the cities of Bithynia and Pontus, either for rent, or goods ſold, or for any other conſideration. I find they have a privilege conceded to them by ſeveral Pro-conſuls, of being prefer'd to other creditors; and this cuſtom has prevailed, as if it had been eſtabliſhed by law. Your prudence, I imagine, will think it neceſſary to enact ſome ſettled rule, by which their rights may always be ſecured. For the edicts of others, how wiſely ſoever founded, are but feeble and temporary ordinances, unleſs confirmed and ſanctioned by your authority.

LETTER CX. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

THE right which the cities either of Pontus or Bithynia claim relating to the recovery of debts of whatever kind, due to their ſeveral communities, muſt be determined agreeably to their reſpective laws. Where any of thoſe communities enjoy the privilege of being prefer'd to other creditors, it muſt be maintained; but where no ſuch privilege prevails, it would not be juſt that I ſhould eſtabliſh one, in prejudice of private property.

LET-

LETTER CXI. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

THE ſolicitor to the treaſury of the city of Amiſis inſtituted a claim, Sir, before me againſt Julius Piſo of about 40,000 [a] denarii, which were preſented to him by the public above twenty years ago, with the conſent of the general council and aſſembly of the city: and he founded his demand upon certain of your edicts, by which donations of this kind are prohibited. Piſo, on the other hand, aſſerted that he had confer'd large ſums of money upon the community, and indeed, had expended in liberalities to them, almoſt the whole of his eſtate. He inſiſted upon the length of time which had intervened ſince this donation, and hoped that he ſhould not be compelled, to the ruin of the remainder [b] of his fortunes, to refund a preſent, which had

[a] About 1,166l. Sterling.

[b] The tranſlator has ventured to give this ſenſe to *reliquæ dignitatis*. It is, he confeſſes, a very uncommon, perhaps the ſingle inſtance of the word *dignitas* being uſed in that meaning; ſtill, however, the context, together with the epithet which is joined with it, will, he truſts, clearly juſtify him. There is nothing in the nature of this caſe to make it reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the dignity of Julius Piſo ſhould be impeached: as little is it to be collected from any thing contained in this letter, or Trajan's anſwer. The adjective *reliqua* being added to *dignitas*, removes every ſuſpicion of its ſignifying *honor* (as the ingenious French tranſlator Monſ. de Sacy, and his humble copier the Italian Tedeſchi, have render'd it) for honour ſcarce

had been conferred upon him long ſince, in return for many good offices he had done to the city. For this reaſon, Sir, I thought it neceſſary to ſuſpend giving any judgement in this cauſe, till I ſhall receive your directions.

LETTER CXII. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

THO' by my edicts I have ordained, that no largeſſes ſhall be given out of the public money; yet, that numberleſs private perſons may not be diſturbed in the ſecure poſſeſſion of their fortunes, thoſe donations which have been made long ſince, ought not to be called in queſtion or revoked. We will not therefore enquire into any thing that has been tranſacted in this affair ſo long ago as twenty years; for I would be no leſs attentive to ſecure the repoſe of every private man, than to preſerve the treaſure of every public community.

ſcarce admits of fractions, and there can be no remainder after a ſubſtraction of that kind. The truth, it ſhould ſeem, is, that as the value of a man's eſtate was, among the Romans, a neceſſary qualification to render him capable of the dignities of the commonwealth, our author, by a figure of ſpeech, puts *dignitas* for *facultas*; the conſequent (to ſpeak in the language of the grammarians) for the antecedent.

LET-

LETTER CXIII. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

THE Pompeian law, Sir, which is obſerved in Pontus and Bithynia, does not direct that any money ſhall be paid into the public cheſt by thoſe who are elected into the ſenate by the Cenſors, for their admiſſion. It has however been uſual for ſuch members as have been admitted into thoſe aſſemblies, in purſuance of the privilege which you were pleaſed to grant to ſome particular cities, of receiving above their legal number, to pay [b] one or two [c] thouſand denarii on their election. Subſequent to your grant of this privilege, the Proconſul Anicius Maximus ordained (tho' indeed his edict related to ſome few cities only) that thoſe who ſhould be elected by the Cenſors ſhould alſo pay into the treaſury a certain ſum, which varied in different places. It remains therefore for your conſideration, whether it would not be proper to ſettle a certain fixed ſum for each member, who is elected into the council, to pay upon his admiſſion; for, it well becomes you, whoſe every word and action deſerves to be immortalized, to eſtabliſh laws that ſhall endure for ever.

[b] About 29l. [c] and 58l. Sterl.

LET-

LETTER CXIV. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

I Can give no general directions applicable to all the cities of Bithynia, in relation to thoſe who are elected members of their reſpective councils; whether they ſhall pay an honorary fee upon their admittance, or not. It ſeems beſt therefore, in the preſent caſe, (and indeed is ever the ſafeſt way) to leave each city to exerciſe its own peculiar laws. I think, however, the Cenſors ought to ſet the ſum lower to thoſe who are choſen into the ſenate contrary to their inclinations, than to the reſt.

LETTER CXV. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

THE Pompeian law, Sir, allows the Bithynians to give the freedom of their reſpective cities to any perſon they think proper, provided he is not a foreigner, but native of ſome of the cities of this province. The ſame law ſpecifies the particular cauſes for which the Cenſors may expel a member the ſenate; amongſt which, that of being a foreigner is not mentioned. Certain of the Cenſors therefore have deſired my opinion, whether they ought to expel a member if he ſhould happen to be a foreigner. But I

thought it neceſſary to receive your inſtructions in this caſe; not only becauſe the law, though it forbids foreigners to be admitted citizens, does not direct that a ſenator ſhall be expelled for the ſame reaſon, but becauſe I am informed, that there is in every city ſeveral members of their reſpective ſenates, who are not natives. If therefore this clauſe of the law, which ſeems to be obſolete by long cuſtom to the contrary, ſhould be inforced, many cities, as well as individuals, will be thrown into great confuſion. I have annexed the heads of this law to my letter.

LETTER CXVI. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

YOU might well be doubtful, my dear Pliny, what reply to give to the Cenſors, who conſulted you concerning their right to elect into the ſenate foreign citizens, tho' of the ſame province. The authority of law on one ſide, and long cuſtom prevailing againſt it on the other, might juſtly occaſion you to heſitate. The proper meaſure in this caſe will be, to make no change in what is paſt, but to ſuffer thoſe ſenators who are already elected, though contrary to law, to keep their ſeats, to whatever city they may belong; and in all future elections, to purſue the direction of the

the Pompeian law: for, to give it a retroſpective operation, would neceſſarily introduce great confuſion.

LETTER CXVII. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

IT is cuſtomary in this city upon any perſon's either taking the manly [a] robe; ſolemnizing his marriage: entering upon the office of magiſtrate, or dedicating any public work; to invite the whole ſenate, together with a conſiderable part of the commonalty to a feaſt, and diſtribute to each of the company one [b] or two denarii. I requeſt you to inform me, whether you think proper this ceremony ſhould continue to be obſerved, or how far you approve of it. For myſelf, tho' I am of opinion that upon certain occaſions, eſpecially thoſe of public feſtivals, this kind of general invitations may be permitted; yet when they draw together a thouſand perſons, and ſometimes more, it ſeems to be going beyond a reaſonable number, and has ſomewhat the appearance of factious largeſſes.

[a] See vol. i. p. 22. note [a].

[b] About ſeven-pence of our money. The ſum diſtributed upon theſe occaſions, ſuppoſing the aſſembly to conſiſt of a thouſand perſons, and two denarii given to each, would amount to about 58l. ſterl.

LET-

LETTER CXVIII. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

IT is with reaſon you apprehend, that thoſe public invitations, which extend to an immoderate number of people, and where the dole is diſtributed, not ſingly to a few acquaintance, but as it were to whole collective fraternities; may be turned to the factious purpoſes of ambition. But I appointed you to your preſent government fully relying upon your prudence, and in the perſuaſion that you would take proper meaſures for regulating the manners, and ſettling the peace of the province.

LETTER CXIX. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

THE Athletic victors, Sir, in the [a] Iſelaſtic games, conceive that the ſtipend you have eſtabliſhed for the conquerors, becomes due from the day they are crowned: for, it is not eſſential, they

[a] Theſe games are called *Iſelaſtic*, from the Greek word ισελάυνω, *invehor*, becauſe the victors, drawn by white horſes, and wearing crowns on their heads, were conducted with great pomp into their reſpective cities, which they entered through a breach in the walls made for that purpoſe; intimating, as Plutarch obſerves, that a city which produced ſuch brave and victorious citizens, had little occaſion for the defence of walls. [*Catanæus.*] They received alſo annually a certain honourable ſtipend from the public.

they pretend, what time they were triumphantly conducted into their country, but *when* they merited that honour. On the contrary, when I conſider the meaning of the term *Iſelaſtic*, I am ſtrongly inclined to think, that it is intended the ſtipend ſhould commence from the time of their public entry. They likewiſe petition to be allowed the treat you give at thoſe combats which you have converted into Iſelaſtic, tho' their victories were gained before that change took place: for, it is but reaſonable, they aſſert, that they ſhould receive the reward in this inſtance, as they are deprived of it at thoſe games which have been diveſted of the honour of being Iſelaſtic, ſince their victories. But I am very doubtful, whether a retroſpect ſhould be admitted in the caſe in queſtion, and a reward given, to which the claimants had no right at the time they obtained the victory. I beg therefore you would be pleaſed to direct my judgment in theſe points, by explaining the intention of your own benefactions.

LET-

LETTER CXX. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

THE ſtipend appointed for the conqueror in the Iſelaſtic games, ought not, I think, to commence till he makes his triumphant entry into his city; nor are the prizes, at thoſe combats which I have thought proper to make Iſelaſtic, to be extended to thoſe who were victors before that alteration took place. With regard to the plea which theſe Athletic combatants urge, that they ought to receive the Iſelaſtic prize at thoſe combats which have been made Iſelaſtic ſubſequent to thei rconqueſts, as they are denied it in the ſame caſe where the games have ceaſed to be ſo; it proves nothing in their favour: for, notwithſtanding any new arrangement which has been made relating to theſe games, they are not required to return the recompence which they received prior to ſuch alteration.

LETTER CXXI. *To the Emperor* TRAJAN.

I Have hitherto never, Sir, granted an order [a] for poſt-chaiſes to any perſon, or upon any occaſion but in affairs that relate to your adminiſtration. I find myſelf however at preſent under a ſort of neceſſity to break thro' this fixed rule. My wife

[a] See Let. xxiv. of this book, and the note there.

having received an account of her [b] grandfather's death, and being desirous to wait upon her [c] aunt with all possible expedition, I thought it would be unkind to deny her the use of this privilege; as the grace of so tender an office consists in the early discharge of it, and as I well knew a journey which was founded in filial piety, could no tfail of your approbation. I should think myself highly ungrately therefore, were I not to acknowledge, that among other singular obligations which I owe to your indulgence, I have this in particular, that in confidence of your favour I ventured to do without consulting you, what would have been too late had I waited for your consent.

LETTER CXXII. TRAJAN *to* PLINY.

YOU did me justice, my dear Pliny, by confiding in my affection towards you. Without doubt, if you had waited for my consent to forward your wife in her journey by means of those warrants which I have entrusted to your care, the use of them would not have answered your purpose; as it was proper this visit to her aunt should have the additional recommendation, of being paid with all possible expedition.

[b] Fabatus. [c] Hispulla.

THE END.



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Page 2. l. 3. after *hope*, add *that*.
5. l. 2. for *ſeclude*, r. *wrap*.
17. l. 2. after *orators*, add *were*.
22. l. 10. for *your*, r. *you*.
31. l. 5. for *pen*, r. *pencil*.
88. l. 4. for *pen*, r. *pencil*.
112. l. ult. for *equitable*, r. *juſt*,
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189. l. 19. for *hither*, r. *thither*.
203. l. 10. after *theſe*, add *as*.


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